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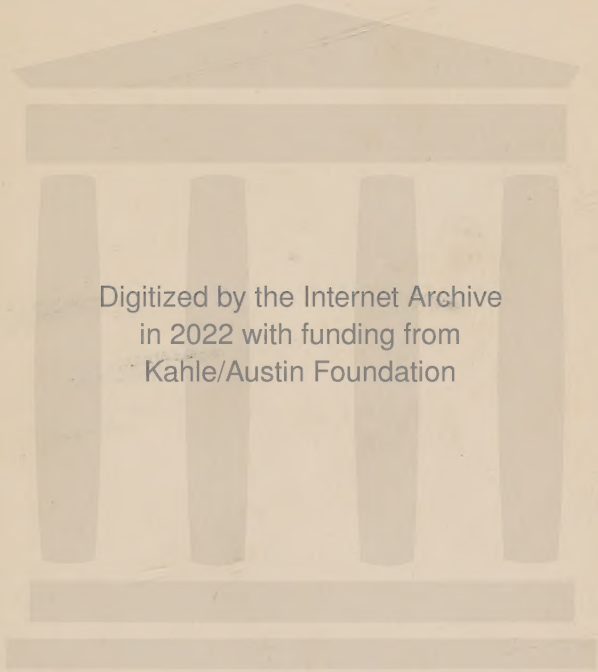

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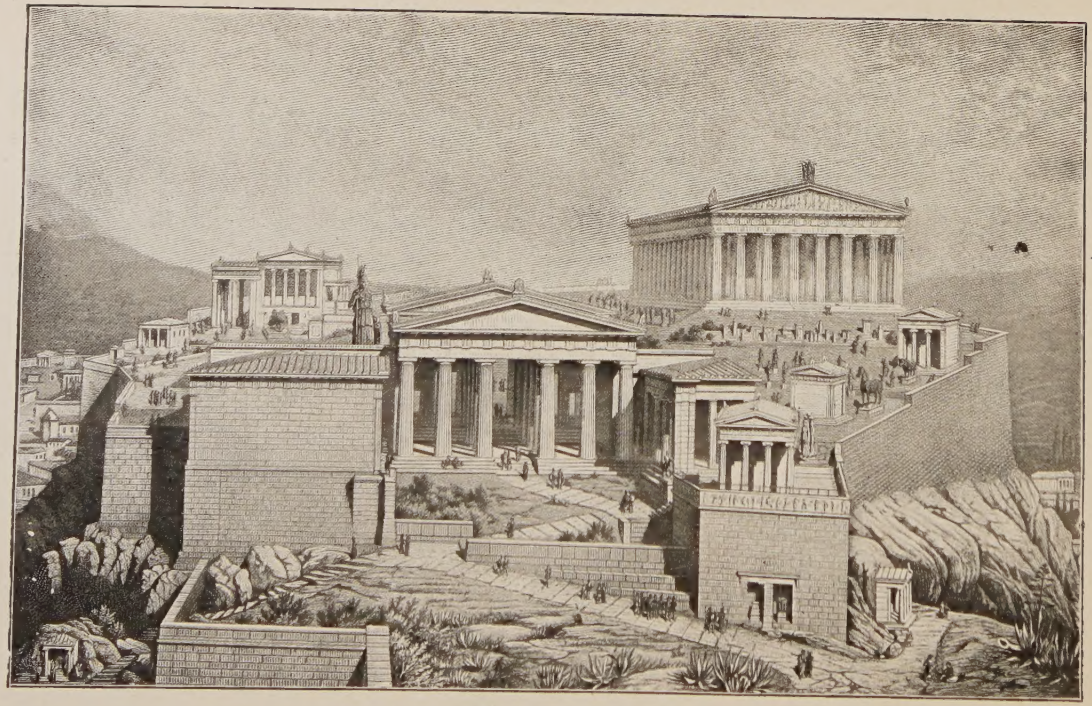

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (Restoration)

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OUTLINES

OF

GREEK HISTORY

WITH A SURVEY OF ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

BY

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GREEK HISTORY
W. P. 14

4-1681

PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to give to young students a general idea of the growth and character of the civilization of ancient Greece. As it is intended to form, with the author's "Outlines of Roman History," a complete elementary course in ancient history, it contains a brief introduction — indicating the relation of history to civilization in general, and referring to the primitive culture with which civilization may be said to begin. It also contains a preliminary sketch of the progress of civilization before the time of the Greeks among the ancient Oriental peoples.

The fundamental idea has been kept in mind that the historical significance of any people must be estimated by what it has contributed to the general civilization of the world. The historical importance of the ancient Greeks rests upon their contributions to the growth of political liberty and to the development of a superior intellectual and æsthetic culture. The attempt has been made to select and describe those facts which illustrate the most important and distinguishing traits of the Grecian character. The political history is intended to show the extent to which the Greeks were successful in the development of free institutions and an organized city state, and also the reasons of their failure to develop a national state system. The history of culture is intended to show the great advance made by the Greeks upon the previous culture of the Orient. The successive stages of this culture are traced through the several periods of Greek history. As the history of Greece finds its most significant center in Athens, and as the history of Athens finds its center in the age of Pericles, this period is taken as the one best suited for a survey of the more

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special features of Greek culture. The permanent character of this culture is also emphasized by showing how it remained after the fall of the Athenian empire, how it was carried to the East with the conquests of Alexander, and how it was carried to the West with the Roman conquest and has retained its influence upon the modern world.

To keep the student's mind fixed upon the points under discussion, the topical method has been employed. While this method may not appear to be the most literary in its form, it certainly seems the most scientific in its results. By the logical arrangement of these topics the student is enabled to see the relation between the general and the special subjects. He will come to have a scientific conception of history when he learns that a particular fact or event is important as it bears upon a more general movement, and that such movement is important as it relates to the general development of the national life and character. The relation of the several chapters to one another is indicated in the table of contents. That the student may obtain some idea of historical grouping, he should be encouraged to present a synopsis of each chapter, indicating its general divisions and subordinate topics as set forth in the text. He should also be expected to supplement this synopsis by notes gathered from the instruction given in the class-room and from his own reading, and by brief remarks upon the books or chapters which he has read in connection with his class-room work.

Each chapter is supplemented by "selections for reading," with references to specific chapters in the books with which the student should be most familiar; also a subject for "special study," which may be assigned as a topic for a class-room essay or oral dissertation. These "selections" and "studies" are given simply as specimens of what the teacher may require. The extent of such work must be determined by each teacher for himself, adjusted as it must be to the proficiency of each class. The references include some of the more important sources, which are inserted, like other

authorities, simply to afford illustrations of the subjects treated, and not to give the young pupil the fallacious notion that he is reconstructing history from "original authorities" — a kind of work which forms the most advanced and difficult part of an historical training. Teachers who wish to employ what is called the "source method" will find valuable suggestions in the report of the New England History Teachers' Association, published under the title, "Historical Sources in Schools." They will also obtain an idea of the legitimate use of sources from Professor Bourne's "Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School."

The illustrative material which has been introduced into the text has been selected for the sole purpose of throwing light upon the subjects treated. The maps are given to enable the pupil to locate every place mentioned. The "Progressive Maps" are drawn for the purpose of showing the geographical history of Greece and the Orient. Appended to the volume is a classified list of some of the most important and recent books upon Oriental and Greek history; the older works are generally excluded, unless they still possess an exceptional value.

It is perhaps proper to say a word upon that mooted question, the spelling of Greek names. It is well known that these names, for the most part, first came into the English language through the Latin, and for a long time their Latinized form was preserved. The comparatively recent attempt to recast these names into a form more consistent with the original Greek has not been attended with unqualified success. The use of Kroisos for Crœsus, Kleisthenes for Clisthenes, Kyklades for Cyclades, Kypros for Cyprus, seems strange, if not repulsive, to the English reader. It is a satisfaction to know that that accomplished Greek scholar and archæologist, Professor Ernest Arthur Gardner, in his recent work on "Ancient Athens," has declared himself in favor of the familiar Latinized forms. While admitting the difficulty of attaining any

complete consistency, he says, "In spelling, custom and familiarity must be the paramount considerations; and I think a natural reaction is setting in among scholars against a too indiscriminate use of *k*, *ei*, *ou*, etc., in forms that are often not only uncouth in appearance, but actually misleading in pronunciation" ("Ancient Athens," Preface, viii). The spelling of Greek names sanctioned by Professor Gardner and favored by the more conservative writers, is used in this book.

In attempting to put the history of Greece into the form of a text-book, the author has kept before his mind simply what he believes to be the needs of pupils and the wants of teachers. He has adopted neither a purely narrative style, — which often fails to give the real significance of events, — nor a purely philosophical method, — which often deals with abstract generalizations unsupported by facts. His aim has been to point out, as clearly as possible, the most essential and significant facts in Greek history, to show their bearing upon the growth of the Hellenic city state, to indicate their influence upon the development of Greek culture, and to suggest the important place which this culture holds in the civilization of the world.

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OUTLINES OF GREEK HISTORY

WITH A REVIEW OF ORIENTAL NATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION. — THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

I. The Subject-matter of History

History and Civilization. — The subject of our present study is the history of ancient Greece — with a review of the earlier peoples of the East, by whom the Greeks were more or less influenced. But to understand the history of any people, it is necessary first of all to have some idea of what we mean by "history." Our first idea of history is the simple notion that it deals with the past. But there are many peoples who have lived and passed away, and many events which have taken place, that have little or no historical importance. The mere study of antiquities — of things that are past — is not the study of history in the proper sense; although it may aid us in getting a knowledge of historical facts. History properly deals with what we call "civilization," or the progress of mankind. It seeks those facts which mark this progress, the causes which have led to it, or the influences which have retarded it. A people which has contributed something to the progress of mankind, we properly regard as an historical people. The Greeks, for example, occupy a high place in the history of the world, because they have added much to the world's civilization.

Meaning of Civilization. — When we speak of civilization, we refer to a certain degree of advancement in the things which make up human life — which contribute to human welfare and to human happiness. Barbarous peoples have very few of the things which make life worth living. They obtain their food with difficulty; their clothing is scanty; and their homes are without comfort. Their social life is narrow, and confined to the family or the clan. Their language is limited. Their art is coarse. Their religion is crude; and their moral ideas are often low and groveling. In short, they do not possess what we call civilization. Civilization means a certain degree of progress in some or all of these phases of human existence. It is a movement away from barbarism in the direction of a higher physical, intellectual, and moral life.

Elements of Civilization. — We may perhaps get a clearer idea of what is meant by civilization, if we look at some of the elements which make it up, and which we should constantly keep in mind as we study the history of any people. It is by these features, or marks, that we are able to judge whether a nation is more or less civilized.

The first mark of civilization is the improvement of the *means of subsistence* — the getting of better food, of more comfortable clothing and habitations. The primitive life of hunting and fishing gives way to the domestication of animals, to the cultivation of the soil, to the manufacture of various products, and to the exchange of these products with other peoples; that is, to the growth of industry and commerce.

Another mark of civilization is the growth of *social and political institutions.* The family grows into the clan; the clan into the tribe; and the tribe into the state. The relations between men, also, become controlled less and less by force, and more and more by reason and law. Governments grow up, which protect the rights of persons and the interests of the community.

We may also judge of the extent to which a people is civilized by the development of its *language and literature.* Lan-

guage becomes extended and enriched by the growth of new words. But more than this, words become reduced to a written form. Ideas which were once transmitted only from mouth to mouth in the form of traditions, become fixed in writing and in a permanent literature.

Civilization is still further marked by the growth of *philosophy and science;* that is, by the development of a spirit of inquiry. The world of nature appears to the barbarian as an insoluble mystery; to the civilized man, it appears more and more to be a world of order and governed by law. Hence, knowledge becomes extended and reduced to a scientific form.

Moreover, we may judge of the advancement of a people by their progress in *art and refinement.* When men become civilized, they learn to love the beautiful. The crude ideas of art expressed in unsightly huts, in grotesque figures, in gaudy colors, in loud and discordant noises, become refined by a sense of symmetry and proportion, by a taste for subdued colors and harmonious sounds — as seen in the higher forms of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

Finally, the advance of civilization is shown in the growth of higher ideas regarding *religion and morality.* The earlier religions consist in the worship of sticks and stones, of animals, of ancestral spirits, and of the forces of nature. Their ceremonies are weird and elaborate, and are intended to appease the anger of the gods. But as civilization advances, religion becomes more and more a simple belief in one supreme and beneficent Being, and an incentive to a higher and better life. Religion and morality become united in a common love to God and man.

Significance of Historical Facts. — By keeping before our minds these various elements which enter into civilization, we can better judge of what is more important and what is less important in history. For example, men are to be judged by the extent to which they have improved their own people or the world in some of these lines of progress. So, too, events must be

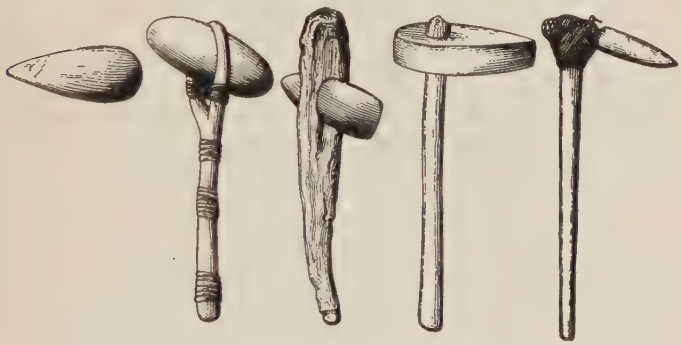
regarded as important according to their influence in improving mankind in some way or other. Nations, also, are to be judged in the same way — by the extent to which they have contributed to some of those elements which make the world more civilized. In studying the history of Greece, therefore, we shall try to learn not only what advancement the Greeks made upon the peoples who went before them, but also how far and in what way they have contributed to the present enlightenment of the world.

II. Early Condition of Mankind

The Prehistoric Age. — As we begin the study of history the question will naturally occur to us, How did civilization begin? To this question no one can give a very satisfactory answer. We know that before the Greeks were civilized, there were civilizations in the East more or less developed — among the Egyptians on the Nile; the Babylo'nians and Assyr'ians on the Tigris and Euphra'tes; the Hindus on the Indus and the Ganges; and the Chinese on the great rivers of eastern Asia. But all these civilizations must have grown out of a more primitive condition of mankind — a condition the knowledge of which is not contained in any written records. This early stage of progress we call the "prehistoric age." Our knowledge of it is derived largely from material relics, such as stone and metal implements, cave dwellings, shell heaps, traces of fire, the contents of mounds, and other evidences of human existence.

Early Stages of Progress. — From such remains of the prehistoric age it is possible to form some idea of the early progress of man before the dawn of civilization. It is, of course, impossible to give the exact steps of this progress, covering as they do many thousands of years. It is customary to divide this long and obscure period of prehistoric development into "ages," called the Stone Age or the Age of Savagery, and the Metal Age or the Age of Barbarism.

The *Stone Age* refers to the lowest condition of the human race, when the highest art was shown in the manufacture of weapons and implements from stone. Men of this age are supposed to have lived in caves or in the shelter of rocks or trees; to have clothed themselves with the skins of wild beasts; to have obtained their food by hunting and fishing; to have satisfied their artistic taste by personal decorations; and to have worshiped material objects or animals, which were thought to have the power of bringing good or evil. This



EARLY STONE IMPLEMENTS

long period is subdivided into the Old Stone, or Paleolith'ic, Age, when implements were made of rough stone, and the New Stone, or Neolith'ic, Age, when implements were made of polished stone, thus showing a higher degree of mechanical skill.

The *Metal Age* marks a great step in human progress, on account of the discovery and use of the metals. During this age men began to live in artificial dwellings; to obtain their food by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of the soil; to clothe themselves with fabrics woven by the loom; to have higher ideas of art in the way of ornaments of silver and gold; and to worship the spirits of their ancestors and the forces of nature, especially celestial objects. This

period is subdivided into the Bronze Age, when articles were made of copper, or a mixture of copper and tin; and the Iron Age, when the discovery and use of iron gave a new impulse to the mechanical arts.

Early Metal Implements

Dawn of Civilization. — These so-called ages can not, of course, be separated from one another by any well marked lines. They simply indicate what were probably the early stages of human development. They merge into one another; and the features of one age often survive and continue to exist in the next age, and sometimes even remain after the dawn of civilization. For convenience we may say that civilization begins with the use of a written language; and it is chiefly by the use of written records that the progress of civilization is traced. But we must not think that there is any clear and definite line which separates civilization from barbarism; the one succeeds the other as imperceptibly as day follows night.

Primitive Culture of Civilized Peoples. — It is evident that at the dawn of civilization men had already made some progress in their manner of living, and already possessed a certain stock of customs and ideas inherited from their prehistoric ancestors. They were living in artificial dwellings, built of wood or of clay baked in the sun. They subsisted not only by hunt-

ing and fishing, but also by the rearing of flocks and herds, by the cultivation of the soil, and by exchanging their products with one another. They had the use of fire and cooked their food; they made utensils of clay, and also of metals such as copper, tin, iron, gold, and silver. They had a simple government, consisting of a chief, a council of elders, and perhaps a general assembly. Their knowledge was restricted mostly to the practical affairs of life, and they recorded their ideas in the form of picture writing. Their art was shown in articles of personal adornment, in crude graven images, and in simple decoration of their implements. Their religion consisted mostly in the worship of ancestors and the forces of nature, in weird ceremonies and in mythical stories about the gods. With a primitive stock of culture such as this, the civilized nations of the world may be said to have begun their career. But the degree of advancement made upon this early culture has differed greatly among the different divisions of the human race.

III. Divisions of the Human Race

Unity and Diversity of Mankind. — It is generally believed that all the peoples of the world have had a common origin. But at what time man first appeared upon the earth, and how the different parts of the earth were first peopled, no one can tell. We find at the beginning of the historical period men living in nearly every part of the world, and separated into different groups, which are more or less distinct from one another. So while men may have had a common origin, they have, in the process of time, become broken up into various races and peoples; and these different races and peoples have shown very different degrees of capacity for development.

Classification by Physical Features. — Many attempts have been made to find a scientific method of distinguishing the different races of men. They have, for example, been classified according to color, into the White or Caucasian race, the Black or Negro race, and the Yellow or Mongolian race.

They have also been classified according to the shape of the head, the texture of the hair, and other physical features. But the various peoples of the world have become so intermingled that it is difficult to determine what are the pure, or original, races, and to distinguish them from the mixed, or secondary, races.

Classification by Language. — The most ordinary and convenient way of classifying men is by the languages which they speak. It is true that language is not a perfect means of distinguishing races; because some peoples have been known to adopt the language of another. But it is also generally true that in adopting the language of another people they have also adopted the manners and civilization of that other people. And so, while a common language may not always indicate a common race origin, it does generally indicate a common historical development. In studying the growth of civilization, therefore, we may consider the peoples of the world as divided into groups, corresponding to the different languages which they speak.[1] Thus the many peoples of the white race have been divided into the Hamitic, Semitic, and Aryan groups.

[1] The various languages of the world, and the most important peoples speaking them, may be grouped as follows: —

I. *Monosyllabic* (in which each word consists of a single root, without inflections), — Chinese, Siamese, Burmese.

II. *Agglutinative* (in which two or more roots are joined in a single word, which is not inflected), — American aborigines, Hungarians, Turks.

III. *Inflected* (in which a word usually consists of a root the meaning of which may be variously modified by means of inflectional endings), comprising: —

1. *Hamit'ic*, — Egyptians, Lib'yans, Ethio'pians.
2. *Semit'ic*, — Hebrews, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnī'cians, Arabians
3. *Indo-European*, or *Ar'yan*, comprising: —
   (1) *Indic*, — peoples of India.
   (2) *Iran'ic*, — Medes, Persians.
   (3) *Hellen'ic*, — peoples of Greece and western Asia Minor.
   (4) *Ital'ic*, — ancient Romans and their historical descendants the Italians, French, Spaniards, Portuguese.
   (5) *Slavon'ic*, — Russians, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Poles.
   (6) *Teuton'ic*, — Germans, Scandinavians, English.
   (7) *Celtic* — ancient inhabitants of the British Isles and Gaul.

Historical Progress from East to West. — Another important thing to be noticed in beginning our study is the fact that the general progress of civilization has been from the east to the west. Broadly speaking, the farther east we go the less progressive peoples do we find; and as we come toward the west we meet with higher and higher forms of culture. We can, therefore, better understand the higher civilization of the Greeks by looking first at the more primitive phases of culture developed by the eastern nations. If we consider these nations with reference to their relative attainments (and not with reference to their relative antiquity), we may arrange them in three groups, occupying quite distinct geographical areas:

(1) The first area is known as the Far East, where flourished two primitive civilizations — that of the Chinese on the shores of the Hoang and Yangtze rivers, and that of the Hindus on the Indus and the Ganges.

(2) The second area is the Tigris-Euphrates valley, where we shall see the development of a more progressive civilization — that of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

(3) The third area is what we may call the Hither Orient, where the civilization of the East reached its highest development — as seen in the remarkable monuments of the Egyptians, the extensive commerce of the Phœnicians, and the exalted religion of the Hebrews.

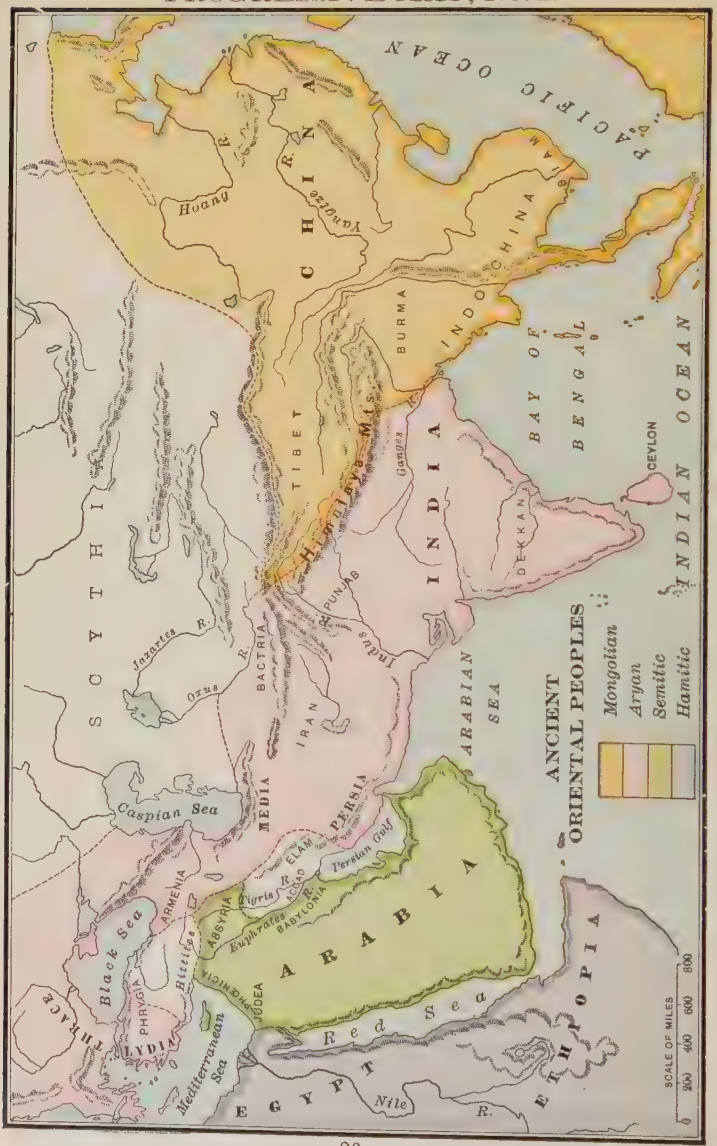
SELECTIONS FOR READING

Clodd, Primeval Man, Ch. 3, "The Ancient Stone Age" (2).[1]
Starr, First Steps, Chs. 3, 4, "Food-getting" (2).
Tylor, Anthropology, Ch. 1, "Man Ancient and Modern" (1).
Keary, Ch. 1, "Earliest Traces of Man" (2).
Joly, Part II., "Primitive Civilization" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

Picture Writing. — Starr, Ch. 21 (2); Joly, pp. 320–326 (2); Keary, Ch. 12 (2); Tylor, Anthropology, Ch. 7 (1), and Early Hist., Ch. 5 (2).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.


PACIFIC OCEAN
CHINA
Hoang R.
Yangtze R.
INDO CHINA
SIAM
BURMA
TIBET
Himalaya Mts.
SCYTHIA
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
BACTRIA
INDIA
Ganges
Indus R.
PUNJAB
DEKKAN
BAY OF BENGAL
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
IRAN
MEDIA
PERSIA
ELAM
Persian Gulf
ARABIAN SEA
Caspian Sea
ARABIA
ASSYRIA
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
BABYLONIA
ARMENIA
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
THRACE
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
Bithynia
PHŒNICIA
JUDEA
Red Sea
EGYPT
Nile R.
ETHIOPIA
ANCIENT ORIENTAL PEOPLES
Mongolian
Aryan
Semitic
Hamitic
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800

ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

CHAPTER II

THE FAR EASTERN COUNTRIES — CHINA AND INDIA

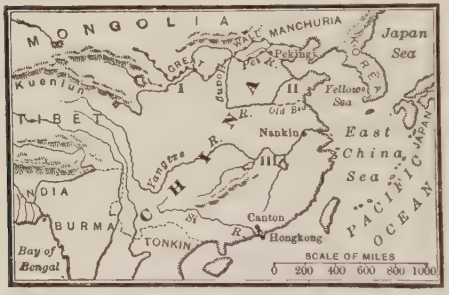
I. China and the Chinese

Historical Significance of China. — In tracing the early progress of mankind before the time of the Greeks, we begin with the countries of the Far East.[1] We do this not because these countries were the first to emerge from barbarism, and not because they have exercised a great influence upon the rest of the world — but for the simple reason that we can see in them the best type of a very early civilization. Especially is this true of China. Secluded as it has been in the remote parts of Asia, China has been little affected by foreign influences. We may therefore see in China the survivals of a very primitive society.

The Mongolian Settlements in China. — The early traditions of China reach back to nearly 3000 B.C., and the mythical history covers many thousands of years before that time. But we need not trouble ourselves about Chinese chronology, dealing as it does with dates and dynasties upon which we can place little reliance. It is enough for us to know at present

[1] This arrangement of the Oriental nations — in a *geographical* rather than an attempted *chronological* order — has perhaps some advantages. It enables the student to proceed from the least progressive to the more progressive countries. Moreover, as he is now studying the Orient as a mere introduction to Greek history, he is led from the more remote countries to those more and more closely related to Greece. If the teacher's time, however, is limited, this chapter upon China and India may be omitted.

the general way in which China was settled, and how it passed from barbarism to an early form of civilization. To trace the course of the Mongolian settlements in China, we should notice the position of the two great rivers — the Ho'ang or Yellow River toward the north, and the Yangtze toward the south. The valleys of these rivers were already occupied by an obscure aboriginal people before the Chinese made their first appearance. It seems quite clear that the Chinese came from the central part of Asia, and first settled upon the head waters of the Hoang. Afterward they pushed down the course of this river and made more permanent settlements about its mouth. Here they developed some of the arts of civilized life. From the Hoang River they spread to the south and occupied the great valley of the Yangtze conquering or driving out the native inhabitants, and becoming the predominant race. They rapidly increased in numbers, so that in time China became the most populous country of the globe.

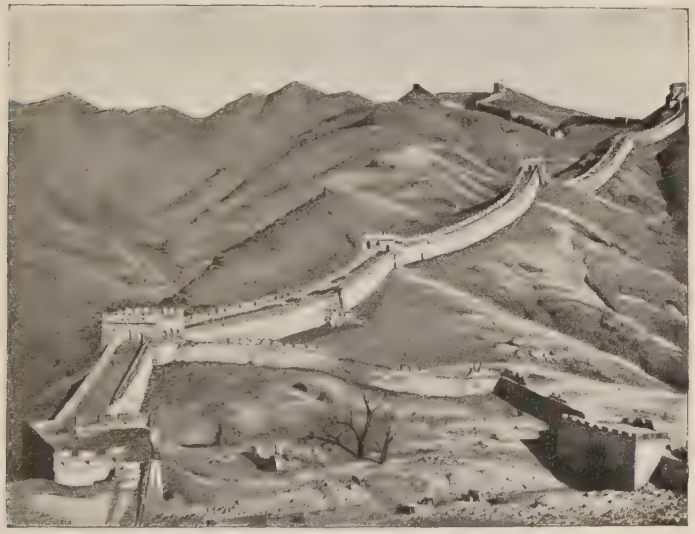


SETTLEMENT OF CHINA
Successive seats, I, II, III

Chinese Industry and Art. — The Chinese traditions refer to a time when the people were in a condition of utter barbarism — a horde of wanderers roving among the forests, "without houses, without clothing, without fire to dress their victuals, and subsisting upon the chase, eked out with roots and insects" (Douglas). These traditions also refer to the origin of many of the industrial arts — the discovery of fire by the accidental friction of two pieces of dry wood; the first attempt to build houses by intertwining the boughs of trees; the discovery of the process of smelting and forging

iron; the cultivation of the mulberry tree; and the manufacture and weaving of silk.

Whatever truth there may, or may not, be in these traditions, it is quite certain that when the Chinese settled upon the banks of the Hoang, they passed from a nomadic to an agricultural people. They learned to live not only upon their flocks and herds, but also upon the products of the soil.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

They also learned to drain the flooded districts, to build canals and roads. They constructed wooden buildings fashioned after the form of their primitive tents, which form was afterward preserved to a certain extent in their temples and pagodas. Although not distinguished as great architects, they yet constructed one of the greatest monuments of human industry — the Great Wall of China, fifteen hundred miles long, intended to protect the northern frontiers from invasions. They also became in time an ingenious and inventive people.

They are said to have possessed the use of paper, of movable type, of gunpowder, and of the mariner's compass before these articles were used or known by the western nations. They have also shown great skill and some taste in certain forms of art. Their deftness is especially seen in the manufacture of silken fabrics, in ivory carvings, and in porcelain wares.

Chinese Society and Government. — As in their industrial arts, so in their society and government the Chinese show the marks of an early stage of development. The family is regarded as the first form of civilized society; and "the Chinaman still adheres closely to that first stage in which the organization of human society begins" (Peschel). The family grew into the clan, or village community, governed by the fathers of the different households. So strongly does the idea of the family influence the Chinese that the whole nation is looked upon as a great household, and the emperor was formerly revered as the father of his people.

Chinese Religion and Morality. — Like the government, the religion of China is also closely linked to the early family organization. It consists largely of the worship of ancestors. Filial piety and reverence for the dead form a great part of the moral and religious life of the people. As the father performs the religious rites for the family, so the emperor was wont to perform the religious rites for the nation. He was regarded as the Son of Heaven, and as head of the national worship.

The early religion of China was mixed with many superstitions. But in the middle of the sixth century before Christ, appeared a great teacher, Confu'cius (born 551 B.C.), who tried to purify the religious ideas of his people. He taught in a simple way the most important and common duties of life. He taught that "you should not do to others what you would not have others do to you." It may be said that Confucius and his system mark the highest point reached by the Chinese mind. Another teacher, called La'o-tse, lived about the same time as Confucius, and taught a more philosophical system of religion — Ta'oism. But this, being less intelligible,

did not take so strong a hold upon the people. Afterward a Hindu religion — Buddhism — was introduced from India. The Chinaman may thus be said to have three religions from which to choose, although they are all frequently professed by the same person. The Chinese never gained a high conception of the Supreme Being. But they hold up a high standard of moral duty — a standard which, as is the case with many other people, is considerably higher than their practice.

Chinese Language and Literature. — Like the other phases of Chinese culture, the language indicates an early stage of growth. The language is monosyllabic. The writing was developed from a crude form of picture writing, as may be seen from the following ancient and modern forms: —

These characters have generally no phonetic elements; that is, they do not usually represent sounds, but things or ideas. They have grown to be very numerous (25,000 or more), and are often united to represent complex ideas. In such rude characters as these the Chinese literature is written. The most important literature consists of the Five Classics and the Four Books. The former were either written or edited by Confucius; and the latter were written by his disciples, the most distinguished of whom was Mencius. These works until lately formed the basis of Chinese education. To be familiar with them was considered to be wise and learned. Candidates for public office were required to pass a competitive examination in these ancient books to show their fitness for public life. The civil service was thus based upon this sort of education.

From what has been said we can see that the people of China have long been bound to the past and isolated from the

present. From the earliest times it was the policy of this people to exclude from their land all foreigners and all foreign influences. On this account they long remained a stagnant nation, scarcely affected by those movements which have changed the rest of the world. Not only do their arts and customs, their society, government, and religion preserve the marks of a primitive civilization, but their ideas and culture have been fashioned largely upon the wisdom of the ancients; and it is only within very recent times that they have seemed disposed to depart from the "beaten paths."

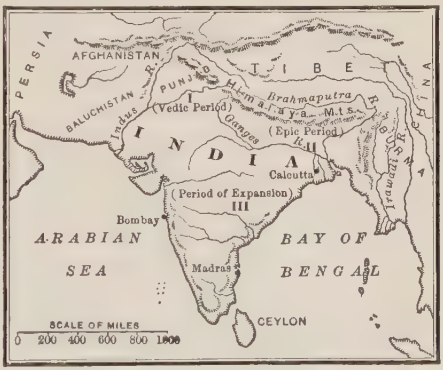
II. India and the Hindus

Beginning of Aryan Civilization. — As we pass from China to India, we see the early stages of a far greater civilization than that of the Mongolians; namely, that of the Aryans, or Indo-Europeans.[1] When we consider the fact that the most advanced nations of the world to-day are peoples who speak Indo-European languages, we may look with special interest upon the first attempt of an Indo-European people to lift themselves above the plane of barbarism. By the aid of language it is inferred that before their migration, the early Indo-European people had already passed out of the Stone Age, and were acquainted with the use of some of the metals. They were a pastoral people, having domesticated the cow, the horse, and

[1] It must be kept in mind that when we speak of the Aryan or Indo-European peoples (including the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Germans, and the Celts), we do not mean that they are descended from the same stock — a theory once held, but now disproved by recent anthropological discoveries. We simply mean that these peoples speak languages derived from the same ancient tongue, and possess a civilization derived probably from a common primitive culture. Scholars are not agreed as to where was the original home of the Aryan-speaking people. It was formerly thought to have been somewhere in central Asia. It is now thought to have been somewhere in Europe, perhaps in southern Russia, perhaps on the shores of the Baltic. The "Aryan question" has been largely a dispute resulting from different points of view — that of language and culture held by philologists and historians, and that of race affiliation held by anthropologists. No scholars now hold that a common language is necessarily an indication of a common descent.

the sheep, and were beginning to cultivate the soil. They used fire in cooking their food, and understood the arts of weaving and sewing, and dressed themselves in cloth garments. They were organized in families and village communities, and recognized the authority of a village chief and a council of elders. They worshiped not only their ancestors, but the objects of nature — the heaven, the sun, the dawn, the clouds, the earth, fire, etc., which were personified and made the subjects of many mythical stories. Chief among the objects of the worship was the overarching Heaven, which was looked upon as the Father of all, and long continued to be called the Heaven-Father — *Dyaus-pitar* by the Hindus, *Zeus-pater* by the Greeks, and *Jupiter* by the Romans.

The Aryan Settlements in India. — With a culture such as this, a part of the Aryan people migrating from their original home — wherever that may have been — passed through central Asia and settled in India. The progress of their settlements here bears some likeness to the Mongolian settlements in China. As in China, so in India we have two great river systems which formed successive seats of occupation; these are the Indus and the Ganges. The first settlement of the Aryan Hindus was upon the head waters of the Indus, in the region watered by the five branches of this river, and called the Punjab. Here the Hindus improved in their arts of living, communed with nature, developed a strong religious spirit, and composed hymns in honor of the gods of nature — hymns still preserved



SETTLEMENT OF INDIA
Successive seats, I, II, III

in the "Vedas," the oldest literature of India. From the Indus and the land of the Vedas, the Hindus spread into the valley of the Ganges, which formed the second seat of their settlement. The movement from the Indus to the Ganges was marked by a long period of conflict with the aboriginal tribes. As a result of this period of strife the warriors became honored next to the priests. The distinction between the classes of society became more strongly marked, and a severe caste system was developed. This system comprised four distinct classes: (1) the priests, or Brahmans; (2) the warriors, or Ksha'triyas; (3) the farmers, or Vais'yas; (4) the servile population, or Sudras, which class comprised the mass of the conquered peoples. Below these were the outcasts, or Pa'riahs. From the Ganges, the Hindus afterward spread over the remaining parts of India, conquering and absorbing the native inhabitants; so that the Hindus of the south became somewhat different from those of the north. Although the Hindus cultivated industry and commerce, their civilization was marked especially by thought rather than action, — by literature, philosophy, religious speculation, and ethical precepts.

The "Vedas" and Hindu Literature. — The thought of the Hindus was first put into literary form in the "Vedas." These consisted of sacred writings, expressed in the Sanskrit language, the most ancient written form of Aryan speech. This language is highly inflective, having eight cases, and is capable

अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् ।
होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥१॥

First Stanza of the "Rig-Veda"

of expressing fine feeling and subtle distinctions of thought. Of the sacred writings the most interesting and probably the oldest is the "Rig-Veda." This collection consists of more than a thousand hymns addressed to the gods of nature — the heaven god, Dyaus; the sun god, Vishnu; the fire god, Agni;

the rain god, Indra; the cloud gods, Maruts; the wine god, Soma; and others. These early hymns are simple in language, sincere in spirit, and are marked by an earnest religious feeling.

A more elaborate form of literature is seen in the two great epics — the "Rama'yana" and the "Maha-bha'rata" — which have been called "the most important and sublime creations of Hindu literature, and the most colossal epic poems to be found in the literature of the world" (Botta). The former contains twenty-five thousand and the latter two hundred thousand lines. They celebrate the heroic deeds of Rama and Krishna, who are supposed to be the incarnations of the god Vishnu. The ancient legal customs of the Hindus were reduced to writing and embodied in the so-called "Code of Manu," the earliest and most important law book of India.

Brahmanism and Hindu Science. — The religion of the Hindus did not always remain in the simple form of nature worship, as held by the early Aryans and expressed in the earlier Vedic hymns. It grew into a higher and more philosophical form of nature worship held by the priestly class, or Brahmans. It is difficult for us, with our practical Western ideas, to understand fully this highest phase of Oriental thought; but the main features we may perhaps comprehend. The common people had been in the habit of looking upon the different objects of nature, or the different parts of the universe, as so many different gods, endowed with various human qualities. The Brahmans, on the other hand, came to look upon the entire universe as one system of things and pervaded with a universal soul. This universal Deity was regarded in a threefold aspect as Brahma, or the creator, as Vishnu, or the preserver, and as Siva, or the destroyer. In explaining the world about us the Brahmans believed that all things emanate from the Supreme Being, as rays emanate from the sun, or as streams flow from the fountain. When any particular thing seems to pass away, it really reappears in some other thing, as water passes into vapor, or as the soul of one man was thought to pass into another man or into an animal ("transmigration").

It is evident that such ideas as these would be difficult for the common people to grasp; and so Brahmanism became the religion of the priests, who alone possessed religious knowledge, and under whose direction the complicated rites and ceremonies were performed.

It is interesting to know that out of this complex religious system and the scrupulous care with which its rites were performed, grew the various forms of Hindu science. That the ceremonies might take place at exactly the proper times, the movements of the heavenly bodies were observed, which led to the rudiments of astronomy. That the altars might be properly constructed, rules of measurement were laid down, from which geometry was developed; and the necessity of making accurate calculations led to the science of arithmetic, which was based upon the decimal notation. Thus it came about that the Brahmans became not only the priestly, but the learned class of India, and the highest expounders of Hindu thought.

Buddhism and Hindu Architecture. — The religion of Brahmanism was not adapted to the wants of the common people. In opposition to this complicated system there grew up in India a new and simpler form of religion. Its founder was Gau'tama, or Buddha as he is more generally called. This great and good man (born 557 B.C.) believed that true religion does not consist in philosophy, in ceremonies and penances, but in an upright and sinless life, and that this kind of life is open to all, the lowest as well as the highest, the outcast as well as the Brahman. His ideal of life was the attainment of perfection by self-culture, and was taught in such maxims as these: "Sweeter than the scent of sandalwood is the perfume of noble acts." "The fault of others is easily seen, but that of ourselves is difficult to see." "Let one overcome anger by love; let one overcome evil with good." Many of the disciples of Buddha separated themselves from the world and lived in monasteries; they relinquished luxury, and shared their goods in common. The pure life of Buddha became the ideal of his

followers, and at his death he was worshiped as a divine being.

As Brahmanism led to the growth of Hindu science, so Buddhism led to the development of Hindu architecture. Before the Buddhist period it is said that building in stone was restricted mostly to city walls, embankments, and bridges. But the monastic system of the Buddhists required large buildings for the accommodation of monks and nuns, and these came to be extensive and built of stone. Temples, also, were dug out of the solid rock. These cave temples exhibit many artistic features in the form of columns and sculptured designs. Although Buddhism was finally driven out of India by the revival of Brahmanism, and took refuge in Ceylon, China, and other countries, the architectural monuments of the Buddhist period still remain in India, and have greatly influenced the art of the people.

The Influence of India. — Unlike China, India has not been entirely isolated, but has been brought into some relation to other countries. Its ideas are supposed to have exercised some influence upon Egypt and indirectly upon Greece. Its commercial products early attracted the attention of foreign merchants. Its silks, precious stones, and spices have furnished articles of luxury for other peoples. Its decimal system is now used by nearly all civilized countries. From what has been said it is evident that India attained to a higher civilization than did China. But its culture was developed chiefly along the lines of philosophy and religion, and to a less extent in the direction of science, art, and commerce.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Boulger, Short History, Ch. 1, "The Early Ages" (4).[1]
Douglas, Ch. 1, "Early History of the Empire" (4).
Moule, Ch. 7, "Ancestral Worship" (4).
Martin, pp. 97–124, "The Three Religions of China" (4).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Dutt, Epoch I., "The Vedic Age" (5).
Ragozin, Vedic India, Ch. 4, "The Vedas" (5).
Wheeler, Short History, Ch. 1, "Maha-bharata and the Northwest" (5).

SPECIAL STUDY

EARLY ARYAN CULTURE. — Clodd, Childhood of Religions, Ch. 6 (2); Morris, Ch. 5 (1); Taylor, Ch. 3 (1); Keary, Ch. 9 (2); Schrader, Part IV. (2); Ihering, Book I. (1).

CHAPTER III

THE MESOPOTAMIAN COUNTRIES — BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

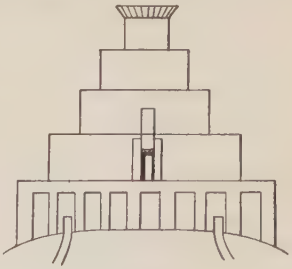
I. THE EARLY BABYLONIAN, OR "CHALDEAN" EMPIRE

The Mesopotamian Valley. — From the early phases of civilization which were developed in the Far East, we now turn to another type of ancient culture, which sprang up in the Mesopota'mian valley. This was no doubt earlier in its origin, and it was certainly more progressive in its character than that which appeared either in China or in India. It grew up in the valley formed by the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. These rivers, rising in the mountains of Arme'nia, unite their waters in a single channel as they flow into the Persian Gulf. The whole territory drained by this double river system is known as the Tigris-Euphrates, or Mesopotamian valley. Here we find the

THE MESOPOTAMIAN VALLEY
Successive seats of empire, I, II, III

early seat of a distinct form of culture which was developed chiefly by a Semitic people. This valley may be divided into two parts. The southern part, or Babylonia, has its center at Bab'ylon on the Euphrates; and the northern part, or Assyria, has its center at Nin'eveh on the Tigris. These two capitals became the seats of successive empires, the first at Babylon, the second at Nineveh, and the third at Babylon again. Although the peoples of Babylonia and Assyria were mainly Semitic, their civilization had its origin in an earlier people, the Acca'dians.

The Accadian Civilization. — The Accadians, or Sumir'ians, belonged to the so-called Turanian race — which simply means that they did not speak an Aryan or Semitic language. They lived in the lower part of the Mesopotamian valley, — in Accad and Sumir, — and were, so far as we know, the original inhabitants of Chalde'a.[1] They had in very early times made considerable progress in industry and art. They lived upon the cereals, wheat and barley, that grew almost spontaneously upon the fertile soil of the valley. In rainless seasons they cultivated the soil by means of irrigating canals. In the absence of stone they used, for their buildings, bricks of clay, either dried in the sun or burned in kilns. They worshiped material objects, which were supposed to be possessed with spirits; and they especially revered the sun and moon and other celestial bodies. They built temple towers constructed in the form of terraces, or a succession of stories of diminishing size, reaching toward heaven. They also transformed their ancient picture writing into characters made by wedge-shaped strokes



Form of the Temple Tower

[1] The name Chaldea is strictly applied to a district in southern Babylonia; but sometimes Chaldea and Babylonia are employed as synonymous terms. The early Babylonian monarchy is often called by way of distinction the "Chaldean"; although the name is quite as appropriately, and perhaps more properly, applied to the later monarchy. (See Philip Smith, p. 242.)

(cune'iform), which were afterward adopted by their successors. Recent discoveries seem to indicate that the Accadian civilization reaches back to at least four thousand years before Christ.

Rise of the Early Babylonian Empire. — The Accadians were conquered by Semitic tribes, who came perhaps from Arabia and spread over the whole of the Mesopotamian valley. The newcomers were a nomadic, uncivilized people; and while they preserved their own language, they gradually adopted the higher culture of the Accadians, including the cuneiform method of writing. Babylonia thus possessed a mixed population. Its towns gradually became united with those of Accad and Sumir under a common authority. A government was established first at Ur and then at Babylon, which in time became the seat of an extensive empire. During the early period other nations, like the E'lamites, came into temporary possession of Babylon, but were finally expelled. Under the rule of many kings — chief among whom were Sargon I., the king of Accad, and Hammura'bi, the great builder, warrior, and lawgiver[1] of early Babylon — the empire extended its frontiers and developed the arts of civilized life.

Until lately our knowledge of the early Babylonians was obtained chiefly from the Greek historian Herod'otus and the Chaldean priest Bero'sus. But the inscriptions unearthed in recent years have given us new knowledge regarding their myths, their kings, their conquests, and their customs. Their myths contain many stories which correspond to those recorded in the Hebrew writings, relating to the Garden of Eden, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and the confusion of tongues.

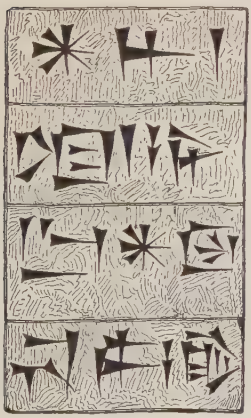
Babylonian Writing and Records. — We have noticed that the cuneiform or peculiar wedge-shaped characters employed in writing were first used by the Accadians. The origin of this form of writing is very curious, and illustrates the influence of external conditions upon human progress. As the

[1] The code of Hammurabi, recently discovered, is the oldest code of the world.

temples were made of bricks of clay for the want of other building material, so for the want of other writing material bricks or tablets of clay were used for this purpose also. The tablets were marked by means of a triangular-pointed stylus, or chisel, by a succession of strokes, and these strokes took a wedge-shaped form. This chiseling by successive strokes was first used in picture writing, as is seen in this representation of a fish. Such picture writing was gradually changed into symbols drawn by the same process, and used to denote more abstract ideas, like goodness, brightness, etc., and a complicated system of cuneiform characters was thus developed.

ACCADIAN CHARACTER FOR FISH

This peculiar and complex method of writing invented by the Accadians and adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians was for a long time an unknown language to modern scholars. It was finally deciphered from the "Behistun' inscription" — an inscription carved upon a rock of the Behistun Mountain, and expressed in three languages — the Persian, Median, and Assyrian. By the aid of the Persian, which was known, the significance of the cuneiform characters was discovered. By this means other inscriptions could be read, on which were recorded the names of kings and dynasties, the events of the monarchy, the myths of the people; so that the deciphering of the Behistun inscription added greatly to our knowledge of this ancient civilization.



AN INSCRIPTION IN CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS

Babylonian Religion and Temples. — Like all early peoples, the Babylonians were deeply imbued with religious ideas, tainted, however, with a large amount of superstition. Their religion was derived largely from the Accadians, but modified by Semitic influ-

ences. According to the old Accadian religion, every object had its spirit, good or bad, and these spirits could be controlled only by the priests and sorcerers through charms and magic rites, which fact led to the growth of a priestly class. The early Babylonian or Accadian religion was an elaborate system of polytheism. There were principal gods and subordinate gods; gods terrestrial and gods celestial; general gods and local gods, almost every town and village being under the protection of its own deity; there were also masculine divinities and feminine divinities. A special importance was attached to the worship of celestial objects — the spirit of the heaven, the sun, the moon, and the five then known planets, which were supposed to exercise an important influence upon human affairs. This fact seems to have led to the construction of temples like towers according to the Accadian custom, that men might come into closer relation to heaven and the celestial deities.

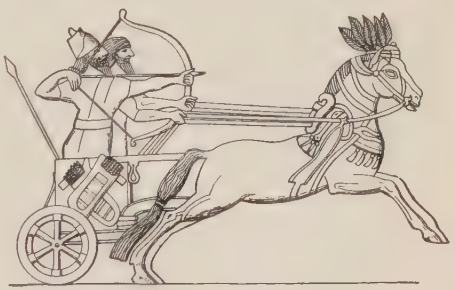
CHALDEAN GODDESS, ISHTAR
(From an Assyrian cylinder)

Babylonian Astrology and Astronomy. — The Babylonians believed that the affairs of human life were influenced by the celestial spirits, and hence the movements of the heavenly bodies were matters of deep concern. The temples therefore became not only sanctuaries, but also observatories. Here the priests could not only appease the anger of the gods, but could observe the will of the gods. By studying the position of the planets and their apparent relations to human events they developed a system of astrology, by which human events were supposed to be predicted. But they also observed the regular movement of the heavenly bodies, and ascertained certain facts of astronomy with more accuracy than was done in India. They marked out the constellations and the signs of the zodiac. They

divided the year into months, weeks, days, minutes, and seconds. It has been said that "the utmost progress that it was possible to make in this science with the naked eye, unaided by optical instruments, was made by the Chaldeans" (Lenormant).

II. The Assyrian Empire

The Assyrian Supremacy and Conquests. — While the early Babylonian empire was extending its power in the south, a new monarchy was growing up in the north with its seat at Nineveh. This monarchy was founded by the Assyrians, a people of purer Semitic stock than the early Babylonians. At first it was the rival of Babylonia; afterward it succeeded in overthrowing that empire, and in becoming the ruling power in western Asia (about 1250 B.C.). The Assyrians have been compared to the Romans as a military and conquering people, and as the organizers of a great empire. They cultivated the arts of war, having well-organized bodies of infantry, cavalry, and war chariots. Like every warlike nation they became cruel to their captives and oppressive to their subjects. They not only subdued the rival monarchy at Babylon, but carried their arms into Media, into the country of the Hit'tites in Asia Minor, into Syria, Phœnicia, Jude'a, Arabia, and Egypt. Under various monarchs[1] Assyria became the most powerful empire in Asia, having under its control the whole country extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Caspian Sea



Assyrian War Chariot

[1] Chief among these monarchs were Tiglath-Pile'ser, Shalmane'ser, Sargon II., Sennach'erib, and Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapa'lus).

and the Persian Gulf. The people of Assyria took up the civilization of Babylonia and added to it many features of their own.

Assyrian Government and Laws. — The Assyrians seem to have been the first great people to develop a systematic government based upon the imperial idea. In this respect they made a great advance upon the early Babylonians. The monarch was the supreme source of all authority. He was surrounded by a court composed of officers of his household, such as the grand vizier, the royal cupbearer, the royal treasurer, the captain of the guards, etc. These officers served the king and executed his commands. The provinces of the empire received a definite organization. They were divided into two classes — those under governors, or satraps, appointed by the king, and those under native rulers approved by the king and subject to him. The provinces were all alike obliged to furnish tribute for the royal treasury and troops for the royal army. Except the priestly class, the subjects of the king possessed a certain degree of equality, there being no caste system, as in India, and no established aristocracy. There was, however, a class of slaves composed of captives taken in war and of persons unable to pay their debts. The Assyrians had certain civil laws regarding property and contracts. Their criminal laws were very severe and the penalties often cruel.

Assyrian King

Assyrian Architecture. Royal Palaces. — The influence of the imperial idea, and the great dignity attached to the king, are seen in the character of the Assyrian architecture. The most important buildings were not the temples, as in Babylonia,

but the royal palaces, upon which the wealth of the empire was expended. The temple was merely accessory to the palace, and was still built in the form of a terraced tower. But the palace assumed another form, and was built over an extended area upon the flat surface of an artificial hill or elevation overlooking a plain or river. Either it was built in one story, or the upper stories were of light construction. Although this country furnished stone suitable for building, the Assyrians continued, like the Babylonians, to use brick for architectural purposes. The royal palace consisted of a vast system of courts, corridors, and galleries. In spite of the

Assyrian Palace at Nineveh (Restoration)

fact that the Assyrians used the arch in sewers, the roof of the palace was generally supported by wooden beams placed upon massive brick walls. Slender columns, made of stone or of wood covered with metal, were often used for ornamental purposes; and these were sometimes surmounted with capitals of artistic designs.

Assyrian Sculpture and Painting. — The Assyrians acquired considerable skill and proficiency in the art of sculpture. This was chiefly employed in the way of ornamentation for the royal palaces. The most conspicuous, but not the most pleasing, examples of Assyrian sculpture are seen in the enormous and grotesque figures which were usually placed at the entrance of the palace. They consisted of winged bulls or lions

with human heads, — symbolizing perhaps strength, swiftness, and intelligence, — and were supposed to guard the palace from the intrusion of evil spirits. The highest examples of Assyrian art are seen in the bas-reliefs, cut on alabaster slabs and adorning the interior of the royal palaces. Here are represented scenes of war and events in the life of the king. In these sculptured reliefs are exhibited the best specimens of ancient drawing before the time of the Greeks. Although the figures are drawn in profile and with no attention to perspective, the scenes are full of action and show great care in matters of detail. Indeed, from the large number of these reliefs we have obtained much of our knowledge of Assyrian life and customs. The flat and strong colors — often a brilliant ver-

Winged Bull with Human Head

Assyrian Bas-relief

milion — which are placed upon the reliefs, show the first steps in painting, which had not yet reached the dignity of an independent art.

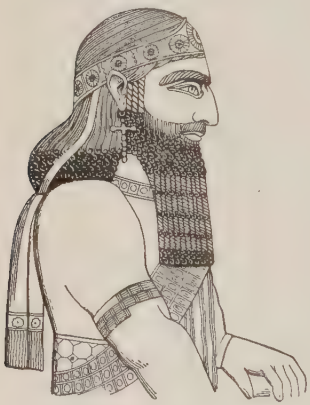
Assyrian Seals and Cylinders. — We should overlook the most delicate skill of this people if we failed to notice the fine intaglio-work cut in precious stones, such as onyx, feldspar, jasper, chalcedony, and used as seals for making impressions upon clay. This work was often cut upon cylinders, which revolved upon a metallic axis, and consisted of inscriptions or symbolic designs. The finest of these cylinder seals were used by the king, and were cut in sharp and distinct lines, with details so minute as almost to require the use of a magnifying glass to perceive them. The inscriptions upon these cylinder seals as well as upon the coarser cylinder tablets have proved valuable as sources of information regarding the Assyrian monarchy and its civilization.

A Cylinder Seal

Assyrian Clay Tablet

Assyrian Literature and Libraries. — This people also possessed a certain taste for literature, which they had derived from the early Babylonians. Their books were clay tablets, on which their traditions and records were inscribed in cuneiform characters. It was customary from very early times to collect and preserve these tablets in public libraries. Such libraries existed both at Babylon and at Nineveh. The most noted of these was the library in the royal palace of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the Assyrian king, who was a zealous patron of literature and has been called the "Augustus of Assyria." This library was not only a treasury of knowledge for the Assyrian people: it has also proved to be a valuable storehouse of information for modern scholars.

Assyrian Life and Manners. — The life of the Assyrians was centered about the person of the king. The nearer one lived to the king, the more honored and ennobled was his station; and the farther removed he was from the king, the more despised and degraded he became. The life in the palace was a life of leisure and luxury; while the common people lived in cone-shaped huts built of clay, subsisting upon barley or the meat and milk of domestic animals. The well-to-do Assyrian wore a long robe bordered with a fringe and decorated with embroidery. He wore his hair long and curled at the end, the beard cut square and also twisted into curls. The people were industrious and highly skilled in the mechanical arts. They wove cloths of brilliant colors, and carpets of rich designs. They had fine tools of iron and steel, and worked in bronze, enameled clay, precious metals, glass, ivory, and precious stones. They used the potter's wheel, the pulley, and the lever, and also had a system of weights and measures which they employed in their trade. In their industrial arts they were probably not surpassed by any other ancient people. Their religion was practically the same as that of the Babylonians.



HEADDRESS OF THE VIZIER

III. THE LATER BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

Recovery of the Empire by Babylon. — During the supremacy of Assyria, Babylon remained in the position of a dependent kingdom; but throughout this period she had preserved the memory of her former greatness, and frequently revolted against the Assyrian monarch. But in these attempts she was doomed to failure, until she found an ally in a people living

east of the Tigris. This people was the Medes, who had themselves been subject to Assyria for more than a century; they had now recovered their independence and established an empire of their own. With the aid of the Medes, the Babylonians succeeded in destroying Nineveh and overthrowing the Assyrian monarchy (606 B.C.). The dominions of Assyria were divided between the conquerors, — Media ruling the countries to the east of the Tigris, and Babylon the countries to the west.

Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. — In this way Babylon recovered her ancient power, and ruled with increased splendor. The great King Nebuchadnez'zar restored her fallen cities, and made her for a short time the center of Eastern civilization. He rebuilt the city of Babylon, surrounded it with massive walls, and adorned it with sumptuous palaces. To rival the beauties of nature and to please his queen, a Median princess, he built the famous "hanging gardens," which were artificial hills built in the form of immense terraces and covered with luxurious shrubs and flowers. During this brief period of her later supremacy Babylon attained, in the highest degree, all the luxury and pomp peculiar to Oriental civilization. To the religious art of the early Chaldeans she added the palatial architecture of the Assyrians. The great skill which the Assyrians had developed in the industrial arts was also acquired by the Babylonians. And Babylon also vied with Nineveh as the great commercial center of the world. But Babylon finally fell before the rising power of Persia (538 B.C.), which absorbed all the countries of western Asia, and whose history became, as we shall hereafter see, interwoven with that of Greece.

THE NAME NEBUCHADNEZZAR IN CUNEIFORM

The Assyrio-Babylonian Civilization. — We have considered Babylonia and Assyria as the seats of three successive empires; but in their culture we should regard them simply as present-

ing three phases of one and the same civilization. The early Babylonians had received the rudiments of their culture from the Accadians, and had developed a form of religion, science, and art which showed the evidence of intellectual growth and a certain degree of refinement. The Assyrians took up the culture of the Babylonians, and impressed upon it a political and imperial stamp, such as was naturally derived from a great and conquering people. And this imperial character was transferred back to Babylon with the establishment of the later empire. So the civilization which was finally developed in the Mesopotamian valley was a mingling of Babylonian and Assyrian elements. If we should try to disentangle these elements, we might say that the Babylonian culture was more religious and priestly, more intellectual and scientific, receiving its best expression in the temple tower, which was a center both of religion and science. And we might say that the Assyrian culture was more secular and political, more materialistic and practical, receiving its highest expression in the royal palace, which was the center of imperial power. But as a matter of fact these different forms of culture came to be but two sides of one civilization, which existed alike at Nineveh and Babylon.

The Influence of Mesopotamian Culture. — The Mesopotamian valley must be regarded as one of the great centers of ancient civilization. By its commercial and political relations its culture was extended to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The religious ideas of the Babylonians became the common property of the East, and their notions regarding the origin of the world and the early condition of mankind became entwined with the Hebrew account of creation. Their progress in certain branches of science, especially in astronomy, formed a contribution to the intellectual development of the ancient world. Their skill in some of the industrial arts, such as weaving and the cutting of intaglios, has scarcely been equaled by modern nations. Their political organization formed the basis of the later imperial systems of the East, which were afterward transferred to Europe under the later Roman empire.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Sayce, Ancient Empires, Ch. 2, "Babylonia and Assyria" (3)[1]; Article "Babylonia" ("Encyclopædia Britannica").

Lenormant, Vol. I., Bk. IV., Ch. 4, "Civilization, Manners, and Monuments of Assyria" (3).

Rawlinson, Monarchies, Vol. I., Assyria, Ch. 7, "Manners and Customs" (3).

Smith, P., Ch. 17, "The Cuneiform Writing and Literature" (3).

Ragozin, Media, etc., Ch. 9, "Babylon the Great" (6); Chaldea, Ch. 5, "Babylonian Religion" (6).

Maspero, Life, Ch. 16, "Assurbanipal's Library" (3).

SPECIAL STUDY

Assyrian Architecture. — Smith, pp. 377–383 (3); Lenormant, Vol. I., pp. 456–465 (3); Rawlinson, Monarchies, Vol. I., pp. 277–339 (3); Maspero, Life, Ch. 11; Hamlin, Ch. 4 (19); Smith and Slater, Ch. 3 (19).

CHAPTER IV

THE HITHER ORIENT — EGYPT, PHŒNICIA, AND JUDEA

I. Ancient Egypt and its Civilization

Egypt and the Nile. — To complete our brief review of the progress of civilization before the time of the Greeks, we must pass from the Mesopotamian valley to the shores of the Mediterranean, where the Oriental culture reached its highest development. This sea forms, in fact, the center of a new world. It not only became the center of a world commerce, but it also, by the facility which it afforded for the exchange of ideas, became the center of a world culture. Upon its shores have flourished some of the greatest nations of both ancient and modern times. The oldest, and in some respects

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

the most remarkable, of these nations was Egypt. The people who settled Egypt belonged to what has been called the Hamitic race. But where they came from, or when they made their first settlements, is a matter of conjecture. We can better explain why they, of all the African people, were the first to become civilized. We have already seen that the peoples that have made the greatest progress are those who have found their homes upon the shores of great rivers. What the Euphrates was to Babylon, and the Tigris was to Nineveh, the Nile was to Egypt. Every historian from the time of Herodotus has been impressed with the fact that "Egypt is the gift of the Nile." The habitable part of Egypt consists of a long, narrow valley, nearly six hundred miles in length, with a width of only about seven or eight miles until it spreads out into a wide area about the delta of the river. Not only has this valley been cut by the Nile, but its great fertility is due to the annual overflow of this river. The climate of Egypt is exceedingly dry; and to this fact is due the remarkable preservation of the monuments of this country.

EGYPT
Seats of empire, I, II, III

Egypt may be divided into two principal parts. (1) The lower, or northern part, includes the extended plain about the Delta, where the soil is most fertile, and where the earliest civilization was developed. It was here, also, that the first empire was established, with its center at Memphis. (2) The upper, or southern part, includes the rest of the valley as far as the rapids, called the "first cataract," near the borders of Ethiopia. This formed a second area of civilization, with its

center at Thebes. In either direction from these two centers the banks of the Nile became dotted with a multitude of towns and villages, each one of which was a seat of industry and art. The country was subdivided into districts, called "nomes." These are supposed "to represent the numerous small states of the prehistoric age out of which the historic Egypt was constituted" (Sayce).

Egyptian Dates and Dynasties. — Formerly the chief sources of our knowledge of Egypt were: first, the Greek historians, especially Herodotus, who visited Egypt in the fifth century B.C.; and second, the Egyptian priest, Man'etho, who lived in the third century B.C., and who wrote a history containing a list of the various dynasties and kings, but whose work has reached us only in fragments. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a vast amount of additional information regarding Egypt has been derived from the inscriptions which have been deciphered and the monuments which have been brought to light. With these sources many attempts have been made to reconstruct the chronological history of Egypt. But scholars do not yet agree in regard to the dates of the early Egyptian history.[1] The general divisions of Egyptian history and the most important dynasties may be briefly indicated as follows: —

1. *The Old Empire* (about 4000–2700 B.C.), covering the first to the tenth dynasties inclusive, with the capital at Memphis. During this time the most important dynasty was the fourth, when the great pyramids and the sphinx were built at Gizeh, and the vast necropolis, or rock cemetery, was laid out at

[1] Egyptologists are grouped into two schools, according as they advocate the *long* or the *short* chronology. (1) The long chronology, generally advocated on the continent, fixes the date of Menes, the first king, variously at 5702 B.C. (Boeckh), 5004 (Mariette), 3892 (Lepsius), and 3623 (Bunsen). (2) The short chronology, advocated generally in England, formerly fixed the date of the first king at about 2700 B.C. (Wilkinson and Rawlinson). The tendency at present, as shown in the writings of Petrie and Maspero, is to carry the date of Menes back at least to 4000 B.C. The dates in the text are approximately those of Lepsius, followed by Ploetz.

PYRAMID AND SPHINX AT GIZEH

Sakka'rah, near Memphis. The kings of the fourth dynasty are known as the "pyramid builders," the most noted of whom was Khufu (or Cheops).

2. *The Middle Empire* (about 2700–1670 B.C.), covering the eleventh to the seventeenth dynasties, with the capital first at Thebes and afterward at Tanis. The most important dynasty was the twelfth, when Lake Mœris was constructed as an artificial reservoir for regulating the water supply of the Nile, the so-called labyrinth was built, and obelisks began to be erected. This dynasty was followed by the conquest of Egypt by foreign kings, called the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, whose rule extended from the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasty, which was the darkest period of Egyptian history.

3. *The New Empire* (1670–525 B.C.), covering the eighteenth to the twenty-sixth dynasties (to the time of the Persian conquest), the capital being again at Thebes and afterward at Tanis and Sais. The most important dynasties were: the eighteenth, when Egypt recovered its independence by driving out the Shepherd Kings, and under Thothmes III. extended its power into Ethiopia and into Asia as far as the Euphrates, and

magnificent temples and palaces were built at Thebes (Karnak and Luxor); the nineteenth, when the empire reached its highest glory, under Seti I. and his son Ram'eses II. (Greek Sesos'tris), the "grand monarch" of Egypt; the twenty-first, when the seat of power was transferred to Tanis in the Delta; the twenty-second, when Jerusalem was captured and plundered by the Egyptian king; the twenty-fifth, when Egypt was conquered by the Ethiopians and afterward by the Assyrians; and the twenty-sixth, when Egypt recovered its independence under Psammet'ichus I. (with the capital at Saïs), and after a century was finally reduced to a Persian province.

HEAD FROM SARCOPHAGUS OF RAMESES II.

Egyptian Industry and Industrial Arts. — But more important than the knowledge of these dates and dynasties is the knowledge of the Egyptians themselves, and of their progress in the arts of civilized life. Their industrial life grew out of the nature of the valley in which they lived. The rich deposits of the Nile gave them a fertile soil so that they became an agricultural people. They plowed the ground, and raised crops of grain, such as wheat and barley; of vegetables, such as onions, radishes, and melons; of flax, which they wove into garments. For regulating and distributing the water supply of the Nile they built canals and reservoirs. The most remarkable of these artificial reservoirs was Lake Mœris, by which an outlying district called the Fayoum' was transformed from

a desert waste into fertile fields. The Egyptians acquired great skill in the industrial arts, working in clay, stone, and glass; in wood, ivory, leather, and the textile fabrics; in the coarser metals, bronze, lead, and iron; and in the precious metals, gold and silver. They exchanged these products with one another, by boats plying the waters of the Nile, which became an artery of commerce. They did not, however, carry on an extensive commerce with foreign countries.

Gold Bracelet of the XVIIIth Dynasty

Egyptian Society and Government. — Egypt, at the dawn of history, had already become a united empire. But there is evidence that this empire grew up from a union of towns and villages which had previously been independent, each under its own ruler and priests. These towns became grouped into districts, or nomes, under local governors; and these in turn came under the common authority of a king who ruled over the whole country. The people were divided into classes, but not into rigid castes like the people of India. The upper classes included the priests, whose office was hereditary, and the warriors, who were devoted exclusively to military pursuits. The lower classes comprised the common people, including the artisans, the farmers, and the herdsmen. The land was generally owned by the upper classes, and let out to the peasants, who paid their rent in the products of the soil. Above all these classes was the king, or Pha'raoh, who was

looked upon as a divine person. He was the fountain of all authority; and the labor, the property, and the lives of the people were at his disposal. He was approached only by the priests and the military nobles. His authority was limited only by the will of the gods; but in interpreting this will, the priests became a kind of power behind the throne.

Pharaoh

Egyptian Religion and Science. — The religion of Egypt was a strange mixture of seemingly incongruous elements. It is difficult to find in it any single principle, so that scholars have differed in their opinions as to its real character. This is probably due to the fact that different religious customs grew up in different localities, before the country was organized in a common empire. The lowest form of religion was animal worship, such as was prevalent among the primitive tribes of Africa. The crocodile, the serpent, the hawk, the cow, the cat, and many other animals were held as sacred. For many centuries the bull Apis was worshiped as an important god at Memphis. This low form of worship survived in Egypt even after the development of higher religious ideas. Besides this animal worship we find a complex form of nature worship. The forces of nature were worshiped as gods, and represented in human forms. The mixture of these two forms of religion — animal worship and nature worship — is seen in the representation of the gods with human bodies and the heads of animals. The animal features came afterward to be regarded

Serapis

as simply symbolical of spiritual qualities. In the higher gods, however, human heads were joined to human bodies.

The chief object of nature worship was the sun, the source of light and life, whose journey through the heavens was the cause of day and night and an emblem of life and death. The sun god was worshiped under different names at different places — as Ptah at Memphis, as Amun-Ra at Thebes, as Osi'ris at This and Aby'dos. "The unification of the empire brought with it the unification of these various circles of gods. They were all grouped together under the sovereignty of Ptah while the old empire lasted, and of Amun when Thebes gained the supremacy" (Sayce). The gods were often joined in "triads" — the most noted of which was that of Osiris the father, Isis the mother, and Horus the son. With the recognition of a supreme god, the most learned men of Egypt attained an idea which approached that of monotheism. We sometimes find in the old records such statements as this: "Before all things which actually exist, and before all beginnings, there is one God, unmoved in the singleness of his own Unity."

AMUN

PTAH

JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL BEFORE OSIRIS

The Egyptians believed in immortality, or the continued existence of the soul after death. This belief led to the practice of embalming the body of the deceased, that the mummy might be preserved for the return of the spirit. The Egyptians also believed in a system of future rewards and punishments and in the transmigration of souls, like the Hindus. The priests of Egypt, who had charge of the religion, were also the learned class. They cultivated philosophy, and the various sciences — astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, and medicine — which here attained a considerable degree of development.

THE RAMESSEUM

Egyptian Architecture and Monuments. — The religious spirit of the Egyptians was strongly impressed upon their architecture, which consisted mainly of tombs and temples. The buildings for the dead are seen in the rock-sepulchers cut in the sides of the hills which flanked the Nile — as, for example, the necropolis at Sakkarah (near Memphis) and also at Thebes. Separate

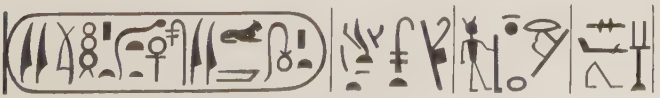
Colossal Statues of Rameses II.

monumental tombs took the form of pyramids, and reached the most gigantic proportions at Gizeh. In these artificial mountains of stone rested the remains of kings. The most impressive and finished specimens of architecture are seen in the massive temples, which were made up of a colossal combination of columns and sculptured walls. Noted examples of these temples were those of Luxor and Karnak and the Ramesse'um near Thebes, the ruins of which are among the most imposing in the world. Egyptian architecture is distinguished by simplicity of general design, but especially by grandeur of proportions and great elaborateness of decoration. It is also distinguished by the use of columns, instead of walls, as the chief means of supporting the roof — a feature which was afterward adopted by the Greeks.

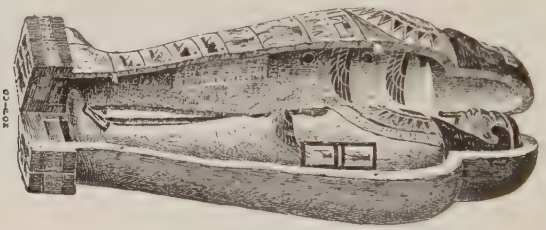
Egyptian Sculpture, Painting, and Music. — The other arts were also cultivated by the Egyptians. This people was probably the first to make sculpture an independent art, — that is, not joined

to architecture. Some of the best of their statues belong to a very early period. The colossal Sphinx is perhaps the most ancient example of independent sculpture existing in the world. But a less pretentious form of statuary grew up in the form of portrait statues, which were placed in the tombs to preserve the image of the deceased. Many of these portrait statues show a considerable degree of artistic skill. But Egyptian sculpture came to lose its independent character and to be used for the decoration of buildings. It appears in immense figures affixed to tombs and temples, and also in the multitude of bas-reliefs which adorned the walls of buildings. These sculptured designs were almost always colored, like the Assyrian, and show the early steps in the growth of painting. The subjects of these paintings are almost infinite in variety, from the representation of the gods to scenes of domestic life. The Egyptians also attained some skill in music, and possessed such instruments as the guitar, the harp, and the pipe, while the drum and the trumpet inspired the soldier on his march.

Egyptian Writing and Literature. — The great number of inscriptions cut upon the buildings and monuments indicate the peculiar character of the Egyptian writing, and one of the ways in which records were kept. On account of these inscriptions and designs the buildings are veritable books in stone. But they remained practically sealed books until a key was found by which the inscriptions could be deciphered. The "Roset'ta stone," discovered near one of the mouths of the Nile during Napoleon's expedition to Egypt (1799), contained a royal decree written in three kinds of characters, the hieroglyphic, the demotic, and the Greek. With this key the French scholar Champollion deciphered the language (1821), and may be said to have unlocked the treasure-house of Egyptian learning. This line gives an example of the hieroglyphic characters : —



The written language of Egypt, like that of Babylonia and China, had its origin in picture writing. The most ancient form is the hieroglyphic, made up of pictures of things and symbols of ideas. The next form is the hieratic, which was used by the priests for executing long records, and hence is a more cursive, or running form. The final form is called the demotic, because it was used by the people. The Egyptian language contains not only ideographic but also phonetic elements, — that is, the symbols represent not only ideas but sounds, and they in fact contain the germs of a phonetic alphabet, such as the Phœnicians developed. The Egyptians



Mummy and Mummy Case

did not confine their writing to stone; they also used a kind of paper prepared from the papyrus plant. Their literature contained many books upon science and religion; the most remarkable of these is the so-called "Book of the Dead." Extracts from this book are found inclosed in mummy cases, and reveal the Egyptian ideas of immortality and descriptions of the future life.

II. Phœnicia and Ancient Commerce

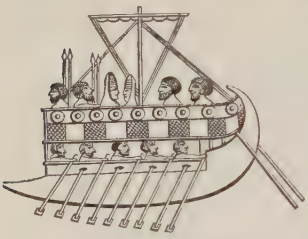
Phœnicia and its People. — The people of the Mediterranean which ranked next to the Egyptians in art, science, and material progress, were the Phœnicians. Their home was a narrow strip on the eastern coast of the sea, about 150 miles long, and from ten to fifteen miles wide, and shut off from the interior

country by the range of the Leb'anon Mountains. The Phœnicians spoke a Semitic language. They borrowed many of their ideas and customs from the Egyptians and Assyrians, and showed something of the same skill in the industrial arts. They were especially distinguished for their glass and metal work, their pottery, their textile fabrics, their embroidery and purple dyes. In addition to the scientific notions which they borrowed from others, they are said to have discovered the relation between the tides of the sea and the motions of the moon. Their religion was a polytheistic nature worship, similar to that of Assyria, accompanied by gross and cruel ceremonies. Their chief god was Ba'al, or Moloch, the sun god or the fire god, to whom they sometimes offered human sacrifices. By the side of the sun god was the moon goddess, Astar'te (or Ash'toreth), the queen of heaven, whose worship was accompanied by ceremonies that revealed the low moral ideas of the people. In their limited territory they had no passion for military glory or political dominion, but were made subject at various times to Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. Their government was restricted mainly to the cities, which were sometimes grouped into confederacies. Their greatest cities were Sidon and Tyre, which were in succession the chief seats of Phœnician civilization.

PHŒNICIA AND PALESTINE

Phœnician Commerce. — If Egypt owed its civilization to the Nile, Phœnicia owed its greatness to the sea. Upon the sea the Phœnicians established an empire perhaps equal in importance to that which any other Oriental people had established upon the land. The cedars of Leba.on furnished

timber for their ships; and with these they became the first masters of the Mediterranean, and the greatest commercial nation of ancient times. Their fleets established the first commercial intercourse between Europe, Asia, and Africa. They not only exported their own products to other countries, but they became the common carriers for the known world. From India they brought ivory, jewels, spices, and scented wood. From Arabia they brought gold, precious stones, incense, and myrrh. From the coasts of Ethiopia they added to their cargoes of gold and ivory, supplies of ebony and ostrich feathers. They brought from the shores of the Baltic yellow amber; from Spain, silver, iron, lead, and copper; from Africa, the precious metals; and from Britain, tin. Thus the different parts of the world were brought into relation with one another by the Phœnician mariners and merchants.



A Phœnician Bireme

Phœnician Colonies. — To aid in extending their commerce the Phœnicians established trading posts, or colonies, in all the countries visited by their ships and merchants. Not only were these established in the civilized countries of the East for the purchase and exchange of wares; they were also established among the uncivilized peoples of the West for the development of the resources of new lands. The coasts of the Mediterranean became dotted with Phœnician colonies. The most famous of these colonies was Carthage (founded about 850 B.C.), which itself established a commercial empire on the northern coast of Africa, and which in later times came into a bitter conflict with Rome. The colonies on the Mediterranean were largely mining stations, where the metals were extracted from the earth for the use of eastern factories. By thus coming into contact with the barbarous people on the European coasts, the Phœnicians diffused among them a taste

for the arts of civilized life. They carried not only commodities but culture. They have on this account been called the first "missionaries of civilization." It has been said that "from the Isles of Greece to the Straits of Gibraltar there is not a country that is not indebted to their teaching, not one where the fruitful effect of those bold voyages was not felt" (Lenormant).

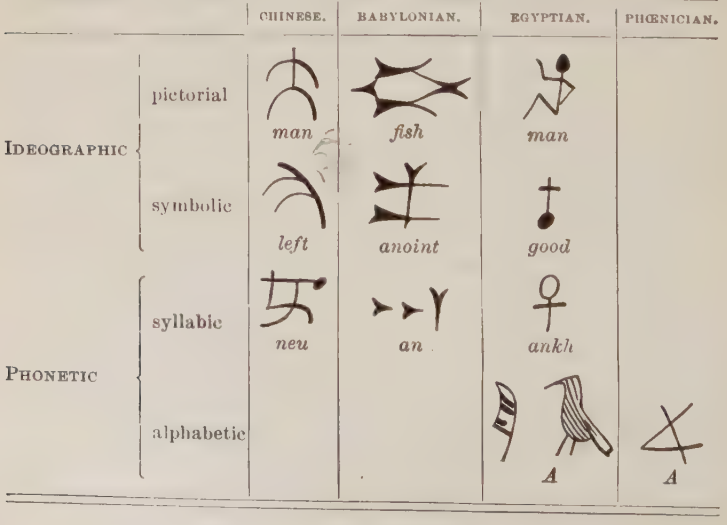
The Phœnician Alphabet. — But the greatest gift of the Phœnicians to the world was a true phonetic alphabet. It is said that the Phœnicians invented their alphabetical writing as a common language of commerce. Wherever they sailed and carried their cargoes, they also carried their alphabet, which Renan aptly calls one of their "exports." The alphabet was, however, the result of a long process of growth. We have already seen, for example, among the Chinese and the Chaldeans (pp. 25, 35), that the earliest writing was in the form of pictures, and that these pictures at first represented material objects or concrete ideas like that of a fish, a man, a house, etc. We have seen that to these pictures were added symbols to represent more abstract ideas, like that of goodness, brightness, etc. This kind of writing which represents concrete or abstract ideas is called *ideographic*. It is evident that such a mode of writing requires a separate symbol for almost every separate idea; and as the ideas of men became more numerous, the number of these symbols would become very great. To meet this difficulty there were gradually adopted certain signs to represent sounds. This kind of writing is called *phonetic*. Such phonetic signs were first used to represent syllables. The Chinese began to use some signs of this kind, and the Assyrians adopted a great many. But the Egyptians made an improvement upon this by separating the syllables into more elementary sounds, and adopting a sign for each sound. This was the beginning of alphabetic writing; but the signs used by the Egyptians were very indefinite and largely pictorial; for example, the sound of *A* was represented by the picture of a feather or by that of an eagle.

It was reserved for the Phœnicians to develop a true phonetic alphabet, in which the chief elementary sounds were represented by separate and well-defined characters.[1] This alphabet was adopted by many peoples, especially by the Greeks, who gave it to the Romans, by whom it was given to modern nations. Thus the Phœnicians, through the development of commerce and the invention of a true phonetic alphabet, must be regarded as one of the most important nations of the Orient.

III. Judea and the Hebrews

The Hebrew Nation. — Not far from Phœnicia in Palestine there grew up another Semitic nation, which was in many respects different from every other Oriental people (see map, page 57). This was the Hebrew nation. Having no great river like that

[1] The successive stages in the growth of writing in different Oriental nations, from the pictorial to the alphabetic stage, may be crudely illustrated by the following table: —

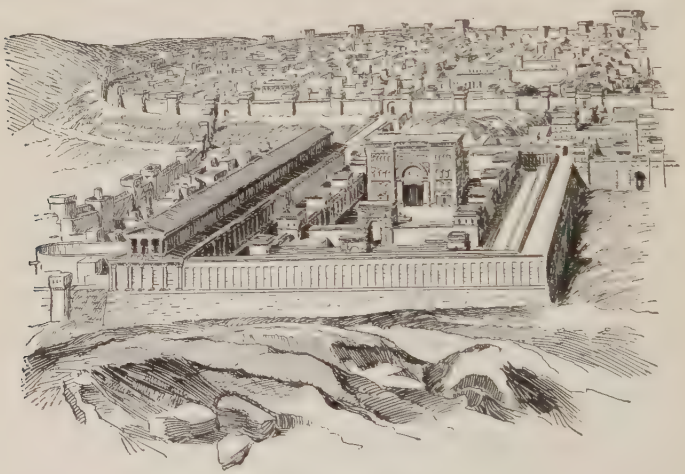


of the Egyptians, and not taking to the sea like the Phœnicians, they did not attain distinction in the industrial or commercial arts. Their greatness did not depend upon art or science, or upon their capacity for political organization. Yet they have perhaps done for civilization as much as any other people of the East, for they became the moral and religious teachers of the world. We have seen in other peoples the growth of religious ideas — in animal worship, in ancestor worship, in nature worship. We have also seen, especially among the wisest men of India and of Egypt (pp. 29, 52), the attempt to reach after the idea of a supreme God, superior to all other gods. But these ideas never attained the form of a true monotheism, nor did they become a part of the religion of the common people. The Hebrews alone, of all the peoples of antiquity, acquired a true monotheistic religion.

Periods of Jewish History. — No other ancient nation professed to have so complete a record of the successive steps by which a people has passed from the primitive to the civilized stage. In these records, we read that their ancestor Abraham, or Abram as he was first called, came (about 2000 B.C.) from Ur, a city of the Chaldeans; that he visited Egypt, and finally settled in Judea. His descendants, in the time of a famine, took refuge in Egypt, and became subject to the Shepherd Kings, who assigned to them a home in lower Egypt (Goshen). Being oppressed by a king of a subsequent dynasty, they were delivered from their bondage by their great leader and lawgiver, Moses, a man skilled in all the learning of Egypt. From this time the history of the Jews may be divided into the following periods: —

1. *From the Exodus to the Establishment of the Monarchy* (1300–1095 B.C.). — During this time the people were welded into a nation, with a national law and a national religion, under the statesmanship of Moses. They crossed the Jordan under their leader, Joshua, captured Jer'icho, conquered the surrounding country in Palestine, and established a theocratic commonwealth under the rule of officers called "judges."

2. *From the Establishment of the Monarchy to the Division of the Kingdom* (1095–975 B.C.). — During this period the nation was ruled by three distinguished kings. The first of these was Saul, who carried on war with the neighboring tribes, the Am'monites, the Philis'tines, and others. The second king was David, who captured Jerusalem and made it the capital of the kingdom, building a royal palace, with the aid of Phœnician architects. By his conquests he established an empire



TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM (Restoration)

extending from the Euphrates on the north to the Red Sea on the south. The third and last king of the united monarchy was Solomon, who gave to the kingdom an air of Oriental magnificence. He built a splendid temple on Mount Mori'ah, and adorned Jerusalem with sumptuous palaces. He formed an alliance with the kings of Tyre, and carried on an extensive commerce with Egypt and the East. He amassed enormous wealth and surrounded his throne with pomp and splendor. He married an Egyptian princess, and established a luxurious court like that of the Eastern kings. But his glory was purchased at the expense of justice and his nation's honor. He

laid heavy burdens upon his subjects and impoverished his people. He disregarded the laws of Moses, and the Hebrew kingdom became practically an Oriental monarchy like that of Assyria or Babylon.

3. *From the Division of the Kingdom to the Babylonish Captivity* (975–586 B.C.). — During this time the Hebrew nation formed two distinct kingdoms. Ten tribes revolted and formed the kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Sama'ria; the remaining two tribes formed the kingdom of Judah, with its capital at Jerusalem. The kingdom of Israel was finally conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon (722 B.C.), and the people were removed to Nineveh, where they were "lost" as a separate people. The kingdom of Judah was destroyed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.), and the inhabitants were carried away as captives to Babylon; but they were afterward allowed to return to Jerusalem (537 B.C.) as subjects of Cyrus, the Persian king.

The Hebrew Commonwealth. — Before the Hebrew nation passed under a monarchical form of government, their society is of special interest to us, because it was patterned upon a pure democratic type. The Hebrew commonwealth presents the best, and perhaps the only, example of a true democracy among ancient civilized nations before the time of the Greeks. The society was based upon the patriarchal family. The father was head of the family group and priest of the family worship. Parental, marital, and filial duties were the sacred ties of social life. The families were grouped into tribes, each under a patriarchal chief, a council of elders, and a general assembly. The tribes were united into a larger federal commonwealth, with its judge, who was a patriarchal and military chieftain; its san'hedrim, which was a national senate, or federal council; and its "congregation," which was a popular assembly of the tribes. Each tribe retained the right of local self-government, and all its people were equal before the law — except the slaves, who were, however, generally well treated. The decay of the Hebrew commonwealth was due to the influx

of Oriental ideas, and to the breaking down of the primitive customs of the Hebrew nation.

The Hebrew Religion. Monotheism. — In spite of the fact that the people and the rulers were often led astray by the influence of foreign religious ideas, still the highest and most distinctive feature of the Jewish civilization was the growth of monotheism. We must judge of the real character of the Jewish religion, not by the practices of those who departed from it, but by the teachings of those who were its highest expounders — Moses and the prophets. In these great teachers we find the true idea of monotheism. This is not the idea of the Hindus and the Egyptians, that there is one god higher than other gods; it is the idea that there is only one Supreme God, and besides Him there are none else, — and this is the idea that the Hebrews may be said to have given to the world. Another feature of the Jewish religion was the fact that it was closely linked to morality. Religious worship and moral duty were regarded as two sides of a complete life. The history of the nation was a constant struggle against false ideas of religion and false ideas of morality. When the priests were carried away with the idea that religion consisted simply in rites and ceremonies, and the kings were seeking the pomp and luxury of the East, and the people were falling into wickedness and idolatry, it was left to the later prophets to become the true expounders of religion and the moral law. They have been called the "great constitutional patriots of the Jewish state; the champions of virtue, liberty, justice, and the strict observance of the civil and religious law against the iniquities of the kings and the people" (Milman).

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT

The Hebrew Literature. The Bible. — The idea of monotheism was the inspiring idea of the Hebrew literature, as it was

of the Hebrew religion. This literature is contained in what we call the Old Testament, and comprises (1) the Pentateuch, or the legal books; (2) the historical books; (3) the poetical books; and (4) the books of the prophets. In their literary genius the Hebrews surpassed all other Oriental nations. In the writings of their poets and prophets we find the highest examples of religious fervor and imaginative description. The Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, considered merely as literary compositions, are unsurpassed in the literature of any people. When we consider the writings of the Hebrews and their religious influence upon the civilized world, we must assign to this nation a high place among the historical peoples of ancient times.

IV. Nations of Asia Minor

Asia Minor and Europe. — Coming still nearer to Greece, we find certain nations which formed with the Phœnicians a connecting link between the civilization of the East and that of the West. Asia Minor (map, page 68) is a peninsula projecting toward Europe, and seeming to offer to the Western world the fruits of Eastern culture. The islands which fringe its coast almost mingle with those of Greece, so that the Ægean Sea became an easy highway for the exchange of ideas and customs. The soil and climate of Asia Minor were congenial to a civilized life. It has been described as "naturally the richest of countries, and blessed with an almost infinite variety of climates" (Sayce). The peninsula is cut nearly in two by the river Halys, which flows into the Black Sea, and which formed the dividing line between two quite distinct peoples. To the east of this river is Armenia, a country early settled by a strange and almost forgotten people of uncertain origin which spread to the south. This people, under the name of Hittites, developed a powerful kingdom to the north of Phœnicia and to the west of the Euphrates. In the western part of Asia Minor the people were more closely related in

race and culture to the Asiatic Greeks. They were known as Phrygians, Lycians, Carians, and Lydians. The most important kingdom among them came to be that of Lydia. By their position in Asia Minor we can see that the Hittites to the east, and the Lydians to the west, held an intermediate station between the old empires of Asia and the new nations of Europe.

The Hittites and their Empire. — As the Hittites have left to us no literature, we know comparatively little about them, except what is derived from the records of the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Jews. From these records we learn that they possessed an empire, at one time extending over a large part of Asia Minor, and rivaling that of Babylon and Egypt. They are said to have done much for civilization by taking up the arts and culture of Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, and spreading this culture throughout Asia Minor and passing it on to their Western neighbors.

HITTITE RELIEF
(Photographed in situ)

The Lydian Monarchy. — The Lydians in the west of Asia Minor were the people who came into the closest relation to the Greeks. When in early times the Greeks were founding cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, the Lydians were building up an extensive monarchy with their capital at Sardis. Their kingdom covered the territory west of the Halys, including Phrygia and other countries. Through their neighbors, the Hittites, it is believed they received much of the civilization of the East. From the Phœnicians they derived a taste for commerce, and became a wealthy and industrious people.

From these statements we may conclude that the peoples of Asia Minor furnished some of the means whereby the civilization of the Orient found its way into Greece.

Review of Oriental Nations. — We can see that it was from the Orient that the world derived the rudiments of its civilization — of its government, its religion, its science, its industrial and fine arts. The most important centers of Oriental culture were the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, the monuments of the one being wrought in clay and brick, and those of the other in stone. By means of conquests and commerce these cultures were blended, and became the common property of the East. Their principal meeting ground was Syria, whence the civilization of the Orient was transmitted to the West, not only by the water routes opened by the Phœnicians, but by the land routes through the countries of Asia Minor. The East was finally consolidated under Persia, whose career we shall study in connection with that of Greece (pp. 168–173).

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Sayce, Ancient Empires, Part I., "Egypt"; Part II., "Phœnicia"; Part III., "Lydia" (3).[1]

Maspero, Life, Ch. 8, "The Funeral and the Tomb" (3); Egyptian Archæology, Ch. 5, "The Industrial Arts" (7).

Rawlinson, History of Egypt, Vol. I., Ch. 4, "Language," Ch. 5, "Literature" (7); Story of Egypt, Ch. 4, "The Pyramid Builders" (7); Phœnicia, Ch. 18, "Phœnician Manufactures" (9).

Smith, P., Ch. 9, "Industry, Religion, and Arts of Egypt" (3).

Murray, pp. 381–392, "Mythology and Religion of Egypt" (25).

Lenormant, Vol. I., Bk. II., "The Israelites"; Vol. II., Bk. VI., Ch. 4, "Civilization and Influence of the Phœnicians"; Bk. III., Ch. 5, "Civilization, Manners, and Monuments of the Egyptians" (3).

SPECIAL STUDY

Phœnician Commerce. — Lenormant, Vol. II., pp. 199–206 (3); Grote, Part II., Ch. 18 (11); Keller, Ch. 1 (15); Harrison, Introductory Studies, Ch. 3 (19); Socin, article "Phœnicia" ("Encyclopædia Britannica"); Rawlinson, Chs. 5, 10 (9).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
BABYLONIA
ELAM
CHALDÆA
ARABIA
EGYPT
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
BITHYNIA
ASIA MINOR
HITTITES
SYRIA
PHŒNICIA
JUDEA
GREECE
CRETE
CYPRUS
RHODES
Bosphorus
Hellespont
Troy
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Halys R.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Nineveh
Babylon
Ur
Susa
Ecbatana
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Jerusalem
Memphis
Nile R.
GREECE AND THE ORIENT
(About B.C. 1250)
Aryan Peoples
Semitic "
Hamitic "
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

BEGINNINGS OF GREECE

PERIOD I. THE PREHISTORIC AGE OF GREECE
(— 776 B.C.)

CHAPTER V

HELLAS AND THE HELLENES

I. The Place of Greece in History

Greece and the Orient. — Our review of the ancient nations of the East will help us to see more clearly than we otherwise could, two important facts. In the first place, it will help us to see the extent and character of the civilization which was developed before the time of the Greeks, and by which the Greeks were somewhat influenced. In the next place, it will help us to see more clearly the real additions which the Greeks made to the civilization of the world. By looking at the map we can see the close relation of Greece to Asia; and how the Greeks, before all the other peoples of Europe, would naturally become the heirs of the Eastern world. The culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia — the two great centers of Eastern civilization — had been taken up by the Phœnicians and the countries of Asia Minor. The drift of Oriental civilization was thus in the direction of the Ægean Sea. On the coasts and islands of this sea were scattered the fruits of Eastern culture. We must

therefore, first of all, think of the Greeks as the heirs of the Orient.

Greece and the Occident. — Although it is true that the Greeks gathered the fruits of Asiatic culture, it is just as true that they sowed the seeds of a new and higher civilization. That which makes Europe to-day different from Asia is due in large part to the genius of this gifted people. We think of Asia as belonging to another world; we think of Greece as a part of ourselves. We look upon the sculptures of Egypt and Assyria as something strange and foreign; but the models of Greek statuary we admire as the most beautiful objects of art in our own homes. Nearly all that we prize most highly in literature, in art, and in philosophy, we have received from the Hellenic race. We must therefore think of the Greeks, not only as the heirs of the Orient, but as the founders of that civilization which is ours, and which we call European; but which is in fact the civilization of the Occident, — that is, of the whole Western world.

The Greek Love of Freedom. — One of the chief characteristics that distinguished the Greeks from the people of Asia was their love of freedom. Nearly everywhere in the East the people had been reduced to a condition of servility. Their priests were supposed to hold the keys of knowledge, scientific as well as religious. Their lives and property were held at the service of the king, and the king was supposed to represent the divine will. Human life and human thought were thus cramped by despotic authority. In Greece, on the other hand, the people possessed a high degree of freedom — freedom of thought and freedom of action. They loved liberty and could brook no restraint except that which they imposed upon themselves. With such a passion for freedom they became a wide-awake, active, energetic, and versatile people.

The Greek Idea of Culture. — There was another feature that distinguished the Greeks from the Oriental peoples, which was perhaps quite as important as their love of freedom. This was their peculiar idea of culture. The culture of the

East was generally shown in excessive, extravagant, and often grotesque forms — in enormous temples and palaces, in colossal statues, in overwrought ornamentation and fantastic designs. To this extravagant form of culture that of the Greeks stands in striking contrast. The Greeks believed in simplicity and in moderation in all things. They loved harmony, proportion, and symmetry. Their civilization was marked by an intellectual discipline; and it everywhere bore the impress of a cultivated mind. It has been said that it was this quality, this rational self-control, this soundness of intellect, "which distinguished Greek art and literature from that of the East; it alone made the creation of classical forms possible" (Holm).

The Greek Sense of Beauty. — But it was especially in the domain of art that the Greek genius excelled. No other people ever possessed such an instinct for beauty. It is hardly too much to say that with the Greeks a new idea of art was brought into the world. The great temples, the rock-hewn sepulchers, the enormous columns, and the gigantic figures of Egypt are often very imposing; but it is impossible to find in them those marks of refined taste which satisfy the most cultivated minds of to-day. But the symmetry of a Greek temple and the grace of a Greek statue are as much admired now as ever.

The Greek Form of the State. — Another important advance which the Greeks made upon the Orient was in the form of the state. We have seen nearly everywhere in the East great empires and despotic governments, the people being subjects of the state, but not citizens, — having political burdens but no political rights. Greece, on the other hand, was a land of small self-governing communities, the people having more or less a share in the government. The East, it is true, had its great cities; but Greece first established the "city state," — that is, an organized community based upon political freedom and the rights of citizenship. And the Greek city state was the first phase of the European political system under which we live to-day.

II. Hellas, the Land of the Greeks

The Ægean Sea. — We may perhaps find some explanation of the peculiar character of the Greek people in the physical features of the country in which they lived. We call this

Hellas: the Ægean Lands

Routes across the Ægean Sea

country Greece; but the Greeks themselves called their home Hellas. And by this they meant not merely the Grecian peninsula in Europe, but all the lands inhabited by their people. At the beginning of the historical period, the Greeks had come to occupy all the lands about the Ægean Sea, that is, the Asiatic as well as the European coasts, and also the

intervening islands. The Ægean Sea must then be regarded as the home of Greek civilization. Its waters unite Europe to Asia, geographically as well as historically, and "the coast lands on either side belong to one another as if they were the two halves of the same country" (Curtius).

The Asiatic Coasts. — The eastern half of the Greek world lay upon the coasts of Asia Minor. It was here that the Greeks came into the closest contact with the older civilizations. Here they built many cities and made their first contributions to the world's culture. The coast lands form an undulating terrace sloping toward the sea. They are quite separate and distinct from the highlands and broad plateaus which form the main mass of Asia Minor. The coast line, like the opposite shore in Europe, is broken by a great number of bays and projections, which multiply the points of contact between the land and the sea. This fact was favorable, not only to the development of a commercial spirit, but to the growth of independent political communities. Since the lands upon the Asiatic coast were from very early times occupied by a Greek people, this territory is sometimes known as Eastern or Asiatic Greece.

The Islands of the Ægean. — Scattered over the Ægean Sea are a vast number of islands, which have been compared to "stepping stones" between the eastern and the western coast. When navigation consisted largely of "coasting," these islands served to mark the course across the Ægean. We may trace on the map (page 72) some of these island courses. But these islands were something more than guides for the mariner. Some of them were sacred to the Grecian gods; and some of them were the seats of an early civilization. On the little island of Delos (which formed one of a group called the "Cyc'lades") was a celebrated shrine of Apollo, the god of light. Another island, Cythe'ra, was sacred to Aphrodi'te (Venus), the goddess of love and beauty; for it was said that near this island the goddess was born from the foam of the sea. Bordering upon the Ægean to the south is the large island of Crete, where are found today some of the most ancient remains of Greek civilization.

European Greece. — But the country where the Greeks reached their highest development was that part of Hellas which lies in Europe, and which we are accustomed to call Greece. The chief characteristic of this favored land is its infinite variety of outline and relief, together with its varied beauties of sea and landscape. There is no other country in the world of the same area which has such an extensive line of coast. The sea winds its way into every part of the land, and it is said that there is no point more than forty miles from the shore. The estuaries thus formed make up for the most part the navigable waters of Greece. The eastern coast, which looks toward Asia, is indented with a great number of bays and gulfs which are by nature suited for harbors, and which opened Greece to the commerce and influence of the Orient and helped to make the Greeks themselves a commercial people. The surface of the country is broken into an irregular and complicated network of mountains and valleys — thus furnishing a dwelling place for a large number of separate communities. The land is drained by innumerable small rivers. The climate varies with the seasons from hot to cold, and stimulates to physical and mental vigor. The hills afforded abundant pasturage; and the soil, under ordinary tillage, produced wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil. The soil was productive, but not lavish in its gifts; so that the people, while obtaining the necessaries and comforts of life, were restrained from the excessive luxuries of the East. The face of nature was attractive to the Greek; and the pleasing variety of sea and land and sky conspired with the native genius of the race to make an independent, active, versatile, and æsthetic people. To obtain a more definite idea of European Greece, and of its historical places, we may glance at its three principal divisions.

Northern Greece is separated from the main part of Europe by the Cambu'nian Mountains. It comprised two provinces, Epi'rus and Thes'saly, divided by the range of the Pindus. Epirus, to the west, was a rugged and inhospitable land, through which flowed the upper part of the Achelo'us, the

largest river of Greece. Much smaller but quite as noted streams were the Ach'eron and Cocy'tus, whose dark waters were supposed to lead to the infernal regions. The most famous spot in Epirus was Dodo'na, where was located the most ancient oracle of Zeus. Thessaly, to the east of the Pindus, was a fertile plain, drained by the river Pene'us; this stream flows through the beautiful vale of Tempe on its way to the sea. To the north rises Mt. Olym'pus, the highest peak in Greece (nearly 10,000 feet), upon whose summit the gods were supposed to dwell. Toward the south might be seen the heights of Ossa and Pe'lion, around which clustered many fanciful legends.

Central Greece comprised a number of states of varied historical interest. Toward the west (see map, page 76) were the two provinces of Acarna'nia and of Æto'lia. Opposite the former province were the islands of Leucas and Cephalle'nia, and also Ith'aca, the home of Odys'seus, one of the heroes of the Trojan war. In the middle of central Greece were the five small provinces of West Locris, Phocis, Doris, Malis, and East Locris. Of these Phocis claimed the highest renown, for it contained the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi, near which rose the mount of Parnas'sus, the favorite haunt of the Muses. Another kind of glory might be claimed for East Locris, on whose borders lies the famous pass of Thermop'ylæ. Toward the east of central Greece were the three provinces of Bœo'tia, At'tica, and Meg'aris. Bœotia was a land of marshes and fogs, with an atmosphere dull and heavy — qualities which were often attributed to the people themselves. This district contained the cities of Thebes and Orchom'enus, one of which took an active part in Greek politics, and the other was an early seat of civilization. To the east of Bœotia lay the triangular province of Attica, the most noted country of Hellas. Its most famous point was the Acrop'olis, about which grew the city of Athens, the most cultivated spot of the world. Other heights were the Pentel'icus, famous for its marble, and Hymet'tus, noted for its honey. To the south of Athens were the silver mines

CENTRAL GREECE AND THE PELOPONNESUS

of Lau'rium; to the northwest was the sacred city of Eleu'sis; and to the northeast lay the heroic field of Mar'athon.

Southern Greece received the name of the Peloponne'sus, or the "Isle of Pelops." It is separated from the rest of Greece by the Gulf of Corinth and the Saron'ic Gulf, having as a bond of union the narrow Isthmus of Corinth. The central country of the Peloponnesus was Arca'dia; this was surrounded by a wall of mountains, the only country of Greece (with the exception of Doris) without a seaboard. It was perhaps the least civilized of all the Greek states, being noted for its primitive culture and the rustic manners of its people. To the west and north of Arcadia were the three provinces of Elis, Acha'ia, and Corin'thia. The most famous locality in these states was Olym'pia in Elis, the seat of the "Olympian games."

Finally, to the east and south of Arcadia were also three provinces — Ar'golis, Laco'nia, and Messe'nia. Argolis was distinguished for the prehistoric cities of Myce'næ and Ti'ryns, and the historic city of Argos. Laconia was the home of the Spartans, who became the ruling power of the Peloponnesus, conquering Messenia and other states, and whose chief city, Sparta, became the greatest rival of Athens.

III. The Hellenes, the People of Hellas

Greek Settlements upon the Ægean. — It would be interesting to know precisely when, and how, and by whom, all these lands about the Ægean Sea were first settled. But this is a subject concerning which we have no very extensive or definite knowledge. Instead of attempting to review the various theories that have been proposed, or of dwelling upon what is unknown, it will be better for us to gather up in a few words what is generally accepted as true in regard to the early people of Hellas. It is now believed by scholars that the Greeks made very early settlements upon both shores of the Ægean Sea; and that "the coast of Asia Minor is just as much ancient Greek soil as European Greece" (Holm). These lands were probably occupied in very ancient times by "successive waves" of migration. Moving from their earlier home, — wherever this was, — the Greeks (an Aryan people) came into Thrace. A part of them crossed the Hellespont, and, passing along the eastern shore of the Ægean Sea, found new homes upon its bays and islands. Another part, pushing to the west, along the northern and western shore of the Ægean, occupied Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the other Grecian provinces. At the time of their settlement, the early Greek tribes on either side of the sea were scarcely advanced beyond the stage of barbarism. They worshiped their ancestors and the gods of nature; chief among these gods was Zeus, the god of the heavens. They lived upon their flocks and herds and were beginning to acquire a knowledge of

agriculture, cultivating the cereals and perhaps the vine. They fought with spears and with the bow and arrow, and made their implements of stone, beginning perhaps to use some of the metals. They were acquainted with the art of navigation, certainly with the use of boats and oars; but the use of sailing vessels was probably acquired after they settled upon the Ægean. With the aid of these vessels, the people of the different shores were able to communicate with one another, to occupy the intervening islands, and thus to preserve the sense of their original kinship.

The Earliest Trites of Hellas. — We have left to us the names of some very ancient peoples of Greece which lived in prehistoric times. Chief among these early peoples were the Pelas'gians, about whom much has been written, and little is known. Their name is found on both sides of the Ægean — in Asia Minor, where they are said to have fought on the side of the Trojans; in Attica, where they were believed to have been the ancestors of the Athenian people; and in Epirus, where they possessed at Dodona the oracle of Zeus. To them are attributed the massive stone walls, found in different parts of Greece, and often described as "Cyclopæ'an." But they, as well as other ancient tribes,[1] are to us scarcely more than names; for we know very little as to their real relation to Greek civilization. We may bear them in mind, however, as an evidence of the fact that the earlier, as well as the later, peoples of Hellas had

ANCIENT "CYCLOPÆAN" WALL

[1] Some of these very early tribes were the Lel'eges, who are also said to have lived in Asia Minor and in many parts of European Greece; the Carians, who lived in Megaris, in the Cyclades, and in southern Asia Minor, where their name became attached to the territory; the Minyæ, who are said to have founded the city of Orchomenus in Bœotia, and to have also lived on the island of Lemnos.

for their home the whole basin of the Ægean Sea, and were not restricted simply to the Grecian peninsula in Europe.

The Later Hellenic Tribes. — Passing over these obscure people, we come to the names of four tribes which are more conspicuous in Grecian history. These tribes were the Achæ'ans, the Io'nians, the Do'rians, and the Æo'lians. They were regarded as the special representatives of the Hellenic race; and they were looked upon as the descendants of a common ancestor, Hellen — their mythical relationship being indicated as follows: —

The Achæans were in very early times the leading race of the Peloponnesus, being regarded by some as the founders of the kingdoms of Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Argos. The early home of the Ionians is placed on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, also in Megaris, Attica, and the island of Eubœ'a. The Dorians are supposed to have occupied in very early times the plains of Thessaly. The name Æolian was used to cover the rest of the Hellenic people.

The So-called Dorian Migration. — But the places just referred to as the early seats of the Hellenic tribes do not correspond to the places which these tribes actually occupied in the historical period. It is quite certain that about the year 1000 B.C. there was a general shifting of the Greek population. This movement is usually called the "Dorian migration." It is known in the traditional history as the "Return of the Heracli'dæ," being mixed up with stories regarding the descendants of Her'acles. Notwithstanding the myths connected with it, it must be regarded as a real movement which affected nearly all the tribes of Greece. It must also be regarded, not as one

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 3.

movement, but as a succession of movements, covering perhaps several generations. In the first place, the Thessalians, pressed by northern tribes, left their original homes in Epirus and crossed the Pindus into the valley of the Peneus, which was henceforth called Thessaly. In the next place, the Dorians, being dislodged from Thessaly, sought new homes in central Greece (Doris). Then, uniting with the people of Ætolia, they crossed the Gulf of Corinth, and either expelled or conquered the Achæan population living south of it. In the course of time the Dorians subdued Messenia, Laconia, and Argolis, leaving Elis to their Ætolian allies, and Arcadia to its own original people. The Dorians thus displaced the Achæans as the leading race in the Peloponnesus. Finally, the remnants of the Achæans found a retreat on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf; and the Ionians hitherto dwelling in the Peloponnesus sought a refuge among their kinsmen in Attica.

The Hellenic Migration to Asia Minor. — The invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians resulted not only in rearranging the tribes in Greece proper, but also in bringing about a closer union between Greece and Asia Minor. The people who had been dispossessed of their old homes in Greece, or who were not satisfied with their new ones, sought other settlements across the sea. The coasts of Asia Minor, already occupied by an ancient Greek race, thus came to be repeopled by the newer Hellenic tribes. We may trace three streams of migration from Greece to Asia Minor.

1. One stream of migration was made up of the *Æolians*, — which name came to be a general term applied to all who were not Ionians or Dorians, — including even the Achæans. This mixed people took possession of the northern part of the western coast of Asia Minor. They occupied the island of Lesbos and founded the important city of Mytile'ne. They brought under their control the city of Cy'me on the coast. Their settlements extended as far north as the Hellespont, and as far south as the river Hermus, upon which they built the city of Magne'sia, and even farther south they held a single city, Smyrna.

2. A second stream of migration comprised the *Ionians*, who settled upon the central part of the coast. They took a course across the sea by way of the Cyclades, leaving on these islands colonies of their own people. They took possession of the islands of Chios and Samos. They occupied the coast land from Phocæ'a to Mile'tus, including the cities of Er'ythræ, Clazom'enæ, Col'ophon, and Eph'esus.

3. A third stream was that of the *Dorians*, who took the southern course by way of Crete, where they left their colonies. They also occupied the islands of Rhodes and Cos, and on the neighboring coast they established the cities of Cnidus and Halicarnas'sus.

By these migrations which followed the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, the Hellenic world acquired the general ethnic character which it possessed at the beginning of the historical period (see map, page 80).

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Introduction, "Outlines of Grecian Geography"; Ch. 1, "Earliest Inhabitants of Greece" (10).[1]

Oman, Ch. 1, "The Geography of Greece" (10).

Bury, Introduction, "Greece and the Ægean" (10).

Grote, Part II., Ch. 1, "General Geography and Limits of Greece" (11).

Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 1, "Hellas"; Ch. 2, "The Earliest Inhabitants"; Ch. 4, "Asiatic Coasts and the Islands of the Ægean" (11).

Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 1, "Land and People"; Ch. 4, "Migrations among the Greek People" (11).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 1, "The Country"; Ch. 6, "The Pelasgians"; Ch. 7, "Other Nations of Ancient Greece" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Dorian Migration. — Cox, pp. 18–20 (10); Smith, Ch. 4 (10); Bury, pp. 131–134 (10); Oman, Ch. 5 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 5 (10); Grote, Part II., Chs. 4, 5 (11); Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 131–134 (11); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 12 (11).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER VI

THE OLDEST CIVILIZATION OF GREECE

I. The Legends of Early Greece

Prehistoric Culture of the Greeks. — The Dorian invasion is usually regarded as marking the dividing line between the prehistoric and the historic period of Greece. Before this event — and as a matter of fact for two hundred years after it — we have no history in the ordinary and strict sense. But the question naturally arises whether anything is really known as to the condition and culture of the Greek people during the prehistoric age; and whether this ancient people left any permanent influence upon the later civilization of Hellas. What we know of the oldest civilization of Greece — that is, the state of Greek culture before the so-called Dorian migration (and for some time after it) — is derived for the most part from legends; from monuments or material relics; and from the early epic poetry, chiefly that ascribed to Homer.

Importance of the Legends. — It is sometimes thought that the early legends of Greece have no historical significance. Whether this view is correct or not depends very much upon how we look at them. If we look at them as giving an account of actual and well-defined events, they have of course little historical value. But if we look at them as indicating the ideas and beliefs of the people, they have a great deal of significance. It was by means of these legends that the Greeks attempted to reconstruct their own history. They looked upon this legendary past as something real, especially as it was depicted in the poems of Homer, and set forth in the "Theog'ony" of Hesiod (p.159).[1]

Legends of the Founders of Cities. — The Greeks surrounded every locality, every mountain, stream, and vale, with a halo of

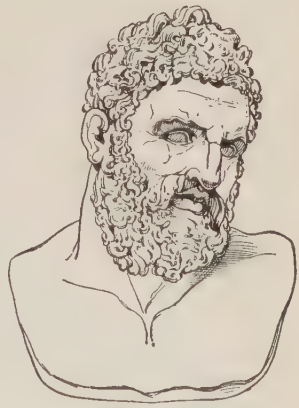
[1] For the "Greek reconstruction of Greek history," see Bury, History of Greece, pp. 79–84.

song and story. An important group of legends referred to the founders of cities. The foundation of Athens, for example, was ascribed to Cecrops, regarded by some as a native of Egypt; he is said to have introduced into Attica the arts of civilized life, and from him the Acropolis was first called Cecro'pia. Argos was believed to have been founded by another Egyptian, named Dan'aus, who fled to Greece with his fifty daughters, and who was elected by the people as their king, and from whom some of the Greeks received the name of Danaï. Thebes, in Bœotia, looked to Cadmus, a Phœnician, as its founder; he was believed to have brought into Greece the art of writing, and from him the citadel of Thebes received the name of Cadme'a. The Peloponnesus was said to have been settled by, and to have received its name from, Pelops, a Phrygian from Asia; he became the king of Mycenæ, and was the father of A'treus, and the grandfather of Agamem'non and Menela'us, chieftains in the Trojan war. Such traditions as these show that the early Greeks had some notion of their dependence upon the Eastern nations.

Bellerophon and Pegasus

Legends of Grecian Heroes. — That the early Greeks had an admiration of personal prowess and valiant exploits is evident from the legends which they wove about the names of their great heroes. In these fanciful stories we may see the early materials of Grecian poetry. In them we read of philanthropic deeds, of superhuman courage, and of romantic adventures. We read of Per'seus, the slayer of the Gorgon Medu'sa, whose locks were coiling serpents, and whose looks turned every object to stone. We read of Beller'ophon, who slew the horrible Chimæ'ra, and captured the winged steed

Peg'asus, on whose back he tried to ascend to heaven. We read of Minos, the king of Crete, who rid the sea of pirates, and gave to his subjects a code of laws received from Zeus. We read of The'seus, who rid the land of robbers, and who delivered Athens from the terrible tribute imposed by the king of Crete — a tribute which required the periodical sacrifice of seven youths and seven maidens to the monster Minotaur. But the greatest of Grecian heroes was Heracles (Her'cules). Every one has read of the "twelve labors" of this famous giant, the prodigious tasks imposed upon him by the king of Mycenæ with the consent of Zeus.[1] The prototype of the Greek Heracles may be found in many Oriental countries — in Egypt, in Phœnicia, in Phrygia, and in Lydia. In these countries his power was related to that of the sun, especially in springtime. But the fancy of the Greeks turned the sun god of the East into a national hero, and conferred upon him a human character.



HERACLES

Legends of National Exploits. — The legends are not only grouped about particular places and individual heroes, but have for their subjects national deeds, marked by courage and fortitude that appealed to the pride and sympathy of every true

[1] The twelve labors of Heracles comprised the exploits in which he (1) slew the Ne'mean lion and (2) the hydra of Lerna; (3) captured the roaming boar of Eryman'thus and (4) the swift-footed stag of Ceryne'a; (5) killed the ravenous birds of Stympha'lus; (6) cleansed the stables of King Au'geas; (7) brought to Mycenæ the wild bull of Crete and (8) the furious horses of Diome'des; (9) secured the coveted girdle from Hippol'yte, queen of the Am'azons, and also (10) the fat cattle from the giant Ge'ryon; (11) obtained the golden apples from the garden of the Hesper'ides; and (12) brought to earth the three-headed dog Cer'berus, which guarded the gates of the lower world.

Greek. One of these stories describes the so-called "Argonautic expedition" — an adventurous voyage of fifty heroes, who set sail from Bœotia under the leadership of Jason, in the ship *Argo*, for the purpose of recovering the "golden fleece" which was carried away to Colchis, a far distant land on the shores of the Euxine (map, page 137). Another legend — the "Seven against Thebes" — narrates the tragic story of Œd'ipus, who was unwittingly led to commit a horrible crime and was banished from his native city. But the most famous of the legendary stories of Greece was that which described the Trojan war — the military expedition of the Greeks to Troy, in order to rescue Helen, who was the beautiful wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, and who had been stolen away by Paris, son of the Trojan king. The details of this story — the wrath of Achil'les, the exploits of Hector and Paris, the wiles of Odysseus, the destruction of Troy, and the return of the heroes — are the subject of the great epic poems ascribed to Homer. All these legends, whether derived from a foreign source, or produced upon native soil, received the impress of the Greek mind. They form one of the legacies from the prehistoric age, and reveal some of the features of the early Greek character.

II. Monuments of Ancient Greece; the Mycenæan Age

Recent Excavations in Hellas. — A far different and less fanciful view of this early age may be seen in the monuments and relics brought to light within the last few years. The name most closely connected with these remarkable discoveries is that of Dr. Schliemann, the German archæologist. It was his childlike faith in Homer and the tale of Troy that led him to seek for the Trojan city and the palace of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. The excavations made by him (beginning in 1871), together with the work of his successors, have not only given us new ideas regarding the poems of Homer, but have also presented many new and difficult problems regarding the early ages of Greece. We can do no more here than to

refer briefly to the most important of these excavations, and the monuments they have disclosed — matters of great interest to every student of Greek history.

Hissarlik and the City of Troy. — The hill of Hissarlik, situated in Troas, in northern Asia Minor, was believed by Dr. Schliemann to be the site of Troy. Here he found the remains of nine different settlements, or so-called "cities," lying one above another and representing different stages of human progress. The lowest city contained relics of the stone age — stone axes, flint knives, earthen vessels covered with rude decorations.

THE HILL OF HISSARLIK

The second city — evidently destroyed by a conflagration and hence called the "burnt city" — was surrounded by walls built of brick and placed upon rough stone foundations. It contained a palace surrounding a court. Among the ruins were found battle-axes, spearheads, and daggers made of copper, showing that its inhabitants belonged to what we call the "age of bronze." There were found also articles of fine workmanship, showing an Eastern influence — cups of silver, diadems, bracelets, earrings made of gold, and also articles of ivory and jade which could have come only from central Asia. This "burnt city" was believed by Dr. Schliemann to have been the Troy of Homer. But the later work of Dr. Dörpfeld, the distin-

guished colleague of Schliemann, has shown that the sixth city — with its great circuit walls, its stately houses of well-dressed stone, and its finely wrought vases — is more likely to be the city described in the Homeric poems.

The Citadel of Tiryns.— But the most important remains of this prehistoric age have been found, not in Asia Minor, but in European Greece, especially in the two cities of Argolis —

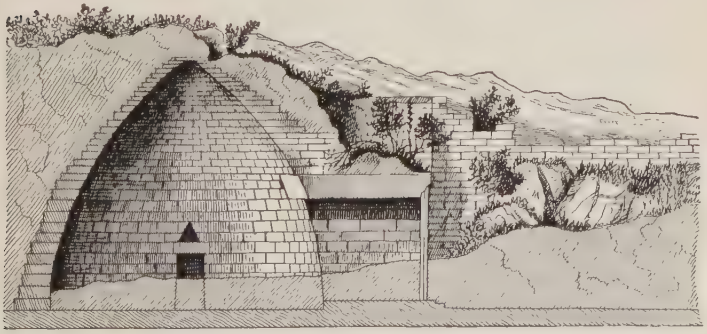
THE "LION GATE" AT MYCENÆ

Tiryns and Mycenæ. Tiryns is the older of these, and its walls, too, are better preserved. The citadel of Tiryns was surrounded by massive walls. The palace consisted of a complicated system of courts, halls, and corridors, suggesting an Oriental palace rather than any building in historic Greece. The most artistic features of the palace were alabaster friezes, carved in rich patterns of rosettes and spirals, such as are described in the Homeric poems (Odyssey, Bk. VII.).

The Ruins and Relics of Mycenæ. — The prehistoric culture of Greece probably reached its highest development at Mycenæ. One of the most conspicuous objects here was the well-known "lion gate," through which the citadel was entered, and which

DIADEM FROM MYCENÆ

had been an object of interest to the later Greeks. The form of these rampant lions has often been compared to similar designs in the East, especially in Assyria and Phrygia. Within the walls near the gate was found a circle of upright slabs inclosing a number of graves. These contained human bodies



THE "TREASURY OF ATREUS"

and a wealth of art treasures — articles of gold, silver, copper, bronze, terra cotta, glass, ivory, and precious stones; articles of ornament, such as diadems, pendants, and rings of artistic design; articles of use, such as bowls, pitchers, cups, ladles,

spoons, etc. These articles show a high degree of mechanical skill and artistic taste. Some of them may have been brought from the East, and some of them may have been the products of native industry. Below the citadel was found another type of sepulchers, called from their peculiar form "bee-hive tombs," one of which the archæologists have called the "Treasury of Atreus."

Other Sites of Prehistoric Remains.— Recent excavations have shown that the kind of culture which existed in the prehistoric

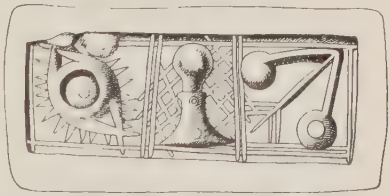
THE VAPHIO GOLD CUPS

cities of Tiryns and Mycenæ prevailed in many other parts of Greece, and in many islands of the Ægean. Relics similar to those found at Mycenæ have been found in Bœotia at Orchomenus, in Attica at Athens and Eleusis, in Laconia at Vaphi'o (near Amy'clæ), in the islands of Melos, Thera, Rhodes, Crete, and in numerous other less important places. At Orchomenus was discovered an elaborate and beautiful ceiling said to be of a pure Egyptian pattern. At Vaphio were found two remarkable gold cups covered with finely wrought relief work, and regarded by some as the most artistic work of the prehistoric age. In Crete has been discovered a crude and curious form of hieroglyphic writing. In fact, the latest explorations

have revealed in the island of Crete far older monuments of this ancient culture than those which we have noticed as existing in Greece proper; that is, in the prominent centers of Tiryns and Mycenæ.

III. The Mycenæan Civilization in Greece

Stages of Prehistoric Culture. — The type of civilization brought to light by these discoveries has been called by some Mycenæan, from the city where its remains are most conspicuous in Greece; and by others it has been called Ægean, from the fact that it seems to have extended over a large part of the Ægean basin. It is supposed to have reached its culmination perhaps between the years 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. But there is reason to believe that in its earlier stages it may have extended back as far as 3000 B.C., or even to an earlier date. Its last and declining stage was evidently closed by the Dorian migration about 1000 B.C.



Prehistoric Writing from Crete

When we now speak of the Mycenæan civilization we refer to that special phase of the Ægean civilization which flourished in Greece proper. In looking at this prehistoric culture in Greece we may distinguish certain stages of progress: The first stage, which we may call the Pre-Mycenæan period, was an age of stone, and its primitive form of culture was no doubt the product of native industry, with little or no foreign influence. The second stage, which may be regarded as distinctly the Mycenæan period, was an age of copper and bronze, and might even be called an age of gold. During this period Greece was evidently submerged by the westward tide of Orientalism, receiving an influx of ideas and commodities from various Eastern countries by way of the islands of the Ægean. The last stage, which

may be called the Achæan period, marks the beginning of the age of iron, and the transition to a state of society like that described in the poems of Homer.

Designs on Gold Rings from Mycenæ

Sources of Mycenæan Culture.— Regarding the origin of this ancient culture of Greece, we have no right to speak with confidence, since scholars are by no means agreed upon this question. The great variety of objects discovered, and the various styles of art revealed, have naturally led to a great variety of theories as to its source. It has been referred to the Dorians, to the Achæans, to the Pelasgians, to the Carians, to the Phœnicians, and even to the Hittites.[1] Such a great variety of

Gold Intaglios from Mycenæ

theories would seem to indicate that the Mycenæan culture was, in fact, a very composite culture, being produced either by many peoples, or under the influence of many.

[1] The Dorian theory has been advocated by Beloch and Niese; the Achæan theory by Percy Gardner, and in a modified form by Hall, and by Tsountas and Manatt; the Pelasgian theory by Ridgeway; the Carian theory by Koehler; the Phœnician theory by Helbig and M. Pottier; and the Hittite theory by Reinach and de Cara. For the results of the latest scholarship as to the origin and character of the Ægean civilization in general, and of the Mycenæan civilization in particular, the student is referred to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, articles "Ægean Civilization," "Crete," "Tiryns," "Mycenæ."

It seems reasonable to suppose, in the first place, that the primitive culture of Greece was produced by the primitive peoples of Greece. So far as we know these peoples were the early tribes which went under the names of Pelasgians, Carians, Minyæ, and Leleges. To these native peoples, then, may be attributed the material relics which bear the marks of the stone age — the stone implements, the crude pottery, and the simple styles of decoration. In the next place, it seems quite as reasonable to suppose that the higher forms of Mycenæan art were due to the strong Orientalizing influence which extended to the West, including within its sweep the coasts and islands of the Ægean. The most striking specimens of Mycenæan art are seen in articles capable of transportation, which could be brought from various Eastern countries by foreign merchants, and also might furnish models for native Greek artisans. Finally, the transition to the iron age may be referred to the Achæans, who became for a time the ruling people of the Peloponnesus, who took up the Mycenæan civilization and added certain features to it, and some of whom, being driven from their homes by the Dorian invaders, fled to Attica, and then to Asia Minor, bearing with them the memories of this civilization, which were afterward impressed upon the poems of Homer.

Sphinx from Mycenæ

Influence of the Mycenæan Civilization. — On account of the many brilliant features of this culture, we may be inclined to overestimate its real historical significance. While we may see in it many native Greek elements, it was no doubt largely the product of foreign influences superimposed upon the primitive culture of the Greek people. When the wave of Orientalism receded from Greece, it left little more than monuments and memories. The essential elements of the Greek people remained in their simple primitive character. The royal palaces at Tiryns and Mycenæ were useless to the Dorian invaders.

The golden diadems and other products of Oriental art had little attraction to the simple Greek taste. The foreign elements in the Mycenæan culture, which found no response in the genuine Greek mind, therefore passed away and were buried.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 2, "The Grecian Heroes" (10).[1]
Cox, Ch. 3, Mythology and Tribal Legends of the Greeks (10).
Bury, Ch. 1, "Beginnings of Greece and the Heroic Age" (10).
Timayenis, Vol. I., Part I., "The Mythological Age" (11).
Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 3, "Migrations and Legendary History" (11).
Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 2, "Prehistoric Age of the Hellenes" (11).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 4, "Earliest Traditional History"; Ch. 10, "Most Important Legends of Greece" (11).
Grote, Part II., Ch. 16, "Grecian Myths as Understood, Felt, and Interpreted by the Greeks themselves" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Mycenæan Age.—Oman, Ch. 2 (10); Bury, Ch. 1, §§ 1, 2 (10); Tarbell, Ch. 2 (19); Warr, Ch. 1 (15); Holm, Vol. I., Chs. 8, 9 (11); Diehl, Ch. 1, 2 (14). See also Appendix (14).

CHAPTER VII

HOMER AND THE HOMERIC CULTURE

I. The Homeric Poems

The Culture of Asia Minor.—We come now to consider another phase of the early civilization of Hellas, namely, that which is pictured in the Homeric poems. The first thing which we must observe regarding these poems is the fact that they were produced, not in European Greece where the Mycenæan culture had reached its highest development, but in Asia Minor. We remember that Asia Minor had in very early

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

times been settled by primitive Greek tribes. We have also noticed the fact that, after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus, many of the inhabitants of Greece had been led to migrate to the Asiatic coasts. We thus find in Asia Minor two kinds of Greek people: (1) a primitive Greek people, descendants of the earliest Greek settlers, and (2) a large body of Greek emigrants who had come across the Ægean Sea, bringing with them the memories and traditions of the Mycenæan age. We shall find that during the transitional period which followed the Dorian invasion Asia Minor became the chief seat of intellectual life and activity. Its culture, however, did not consist in reproducing the remarkable works of Mycenæan art; it consisted rather in rehearsing the traditional glories of that old Mycenæan age.

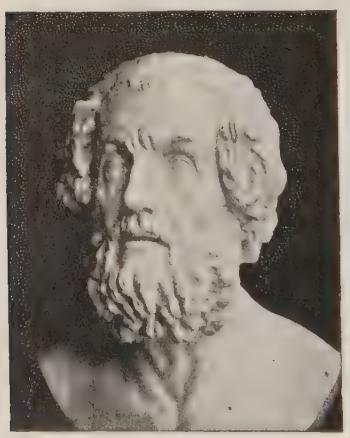
The Rise of Epic Poetry. — From this disposition to sing the praises of the past arose the first form of Grecian poetry. The bards of Ionia recounted the mythical stories of the gods, the legends of ancient heroes, and the traditions of Troy and Mycenæ. They accompanied their words with regular strokes upon the lyre; and their fanciful stories fell into rhythm and took the form of the hexameter verse. The group of Ionian bards in Asia Minor received the name of the "cyclic poets"; and the group of narrative poems which they produced is known as the "epic cycle." These lays were descriptive in character and inspired with an heroic spirit; they were full of imagination, reciting the deeds of gods and men and throwing a halo about the past.

The Iliad and the Odyssey. — Out of this cycle of poems there emerged two great epics, known as the "Il'iad" and the "Od'yssey." Being the fittest expressions of the popular thought and feeling, they survived. They are, in fact, regarded by many critics as the greatest epic poems in the world's literature. The Iliad is a poem of war, and the Odyssey is a poem of peace. The former describes the closing scenes of the Trojan war, and revolves about the wrath of Achilles, the son of Pe'leus, who was the king of Thessaly. The leader of the

Departure of Achilles (From an ancient vase)

Grecian armies was Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and hence we find many traditions which reach back to the Mycenæan age. The Odyssey narrates events which were supposed to follow the Trojan war, especially the wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses) on his homeward return to Ithaca.

The Homeric Question. — These poems stand out prominently from an otherwise dark and obscure period. They have naturally been made the subject of the most searching inquiries. Was there ever such a poet as Homer? Were the Iliad and Odyssey both produced by the same person? Was either poem originally a single production? Was not each one rather a collection of separate ballads, afterward brought together by some skillful hand? These queries comprise the chief points in what is called the "Homeric question." The ancients generally believed that the two epics were produced by the same poet, and that this poet was Homer. Certain critics of Alexandria, observing the difference between



Homer

the two poems, declared that they were produced by two different poets. Modern critics have submitted the theory that each poem was a collection of lays, originally distinct, but collected into a coherent form during the historical period. This question will perhaps never be settled to the satisfaction of every one. It is no doubt true that there were many bards who recited the legends of the Trojan war. But it seems hardly possible that any one age ever produced more than one poet of such transcendent genius as the bard whom we call Homer. It certainly seems more reasonable to believe in one Homer than in many.

Historical Value of the Homeric Poems. — Whether the Iliad and Odyssey were the product of one poet or many, they were evidently produced in the transitional period (probably about 850 B.C.) between the prehistoric age of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and the historic age of Sparta and Athens. They are made up largely of legends and traditions, and so far are no more valuable than any other legends and traditions. But traditions are not necessarily false. The recently discovered relics of the prehistoric age show how faithfully the memories of "golden Mycenæ" were preserved by the people who migrated to Asia Minor, and were expressed in the Homeric poems. But the great historical value of these poems does not consist merely in the narrative of traditional events and the pictures of past glories. It consists rather in the great number of allusions made to the life and customs of the early Greek people. Homer painted the past in the colors of his own time. From the numerous allusions made to industry and art, to society and government, to religion and morality, we can get a comprehensive view of that early culture which existed among the prehistoric Greeks of Asia Minor, and which was bequeathed to the Greeks of historical times. It has been forcibly said that "while the pre-Doric art in Europe was not continued in later times, and the later genuine Greek art followed other paths than those of Mycenæ and Orchomenus, the earliest poetry of Asia Minor is still the truest expression of Greek life that exists" (Holm).

II. Homeric Industry and Art

Means of Subsistence. — We can obtain from the Homeric poems an idea of the industry of the time, and the degree of progress made by the early Greeks in the art of living. We may see that hunting and fishing were occupations that survived from a primitive period. We may also see that the people lived upon the flesh of animals which they had domesticated, such as cows, sheep, goats, and swine. But their chief food supply was derived from agricultural products. They cultivated certain grains, such as wheat and barley, from which they made flour. They also raised certain fruits, such as the fig, the grape, the olive, the pear, and the apple. Orchards and vineyards were especially prized, not only for their products, but also for their beauty. Wine was the chief beverage of the people; but drunkenness was despised.

Use of Metals; Manufactures. — The Homeric Greeks possessed the use of at least six metals — gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and tin. The most of these metals they obtained from other lands. They worked them in a simple way, with the hammer and anvil, using also the bellows and tongs. These simple processes seem to indicate that the finer and more artistic metal work was fashioned by foreign artisans. Homer's description of the famous shield of Achilles (Iliad, Bk. XVIII.) shows that the poet was acquainted with the finest relief work of the East; but it also seems to show that he was not familiar with the methods by which such work was manufactured.

Trade and Commerce. — The early Greeks traded with one another by barter; and they measured the value of their commodities in terms of oxen. We find no evidence that they had yet come to be a commercial people. They obtained their foreign products chiefly through Phœnician merchants, who brought to them the metals and other commodities which they could not produce themselves.

Architecture and the Fine Arts. — We have little knowledge of the buildings of this period, which were no doubt simple and

unpretentious. It is true that Homer describes the princely palaces of Argolis, but these are connected with the life of the old traditional heroes who ruled in the Mycenæan age. The temple was not yet a feature of Greek architecture. The people lived a simple life in hill towns and dwelt mostly in the open air. The mention which the poet makes of the finer arts — the exquisite goblets, the beautiful glasses, the candelabra in the form of statuettes — is connected with the description of the ancient palaces, and suggestive of the Oriental skill which marked the furnishings of those old and splendid structures — buildings which had long since fallen into decay. All this Mycenæan art was practically a thing of tradition; and the art of historic Greece had not yet been born.

III. Homeric Society and Government

The Early Greek Society. — In the poems of Homer we find the picture of a simple and primitive society. It was a society similar to that which we find among other early Aryan peoples. Its primary element was the family, comprising the household father, the mother, the children, and the slaves. The father had entire control of the members; he had charge of the domestic worship and of the lands and other property of the family. From the family grew up the clan or gens, which was simply a group of families related by blood and a common worship, and also recognizing a common ancestor. Several clans might unite for common protection in a larger fraternal community, called a "phratry." But the political organization reached its most complete form in the tribe, or phyle.

The Tribal State — King, Council and Assembly. — The tribe was a collection of communities usually settled about a fortified hill, and having a common government. At its head was the chief (*basileus*). He performed the common religious rites, settled disputes, and commanded the people in time of war. But the power of the king was not absolute; it was restrained by a council (*boule*), made up of the clan leaders, or other influ-

ential men. Matters of great importance, like the declaration of war, or the distribution of plunder, might be left to the assembly (*ag'ora*), which comprised all the people capable of bearing arms. The king, the council, and the assembly thus formed the political elements of the tribal state. How important these elements were in the political history of Greece we shall see hereafter.

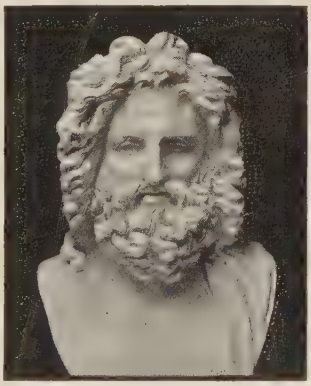
The Confederation of Tribes. — While the tribe was the most important political group, there was a tendency from very early times for different tribes to unite under a common head. For example, in their expedition against Troy, the Greek tribes united under Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. But anything like a permanent union could be effected only by adopting a common religion. The old tribes of Epirus, for example, had gathered about the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. The tribes of Thessaly had been bound together by a common worship at Mt. Olympus. We shall hereafter see other federal unions growing up in Greece. But still the confederation, while based upon a national sympathy, never reached the character of a national state.

IV. Homeric Religion and Morality

The Early Greek Religion. — We may also get from the Homeric poems an idea of the early Greek religion. The germs of this religion existed no doubt in the ancestor worship and nature worship of the older Aryans. The Greeks kept alive the worship of ancestors; and the family was bound together by the sacred domestic rites growing out of this worship. The larger social groups were bound together by the worship of the powers of nature. The early Greeks, like the Hindus, saw in the heavens, in the sun, in the clouds, in the flickering fire, the presence of supernatural beings. But while the Homeric religion is evidently an outgrowth of earlier religious ideas, it had stamped upon it the peculiar features of the Greek mind — fertility of fancy and genial human sympathy. The

Greeks saw in their gods beings like themselves; and they coupled with their nature worship an elaborate and fanciful mythology. The divine and the human were brought into close relations. The gods dwelt not in the inaccessible sky, but on the top of Mount Olympus, where the heavens touch the earth.

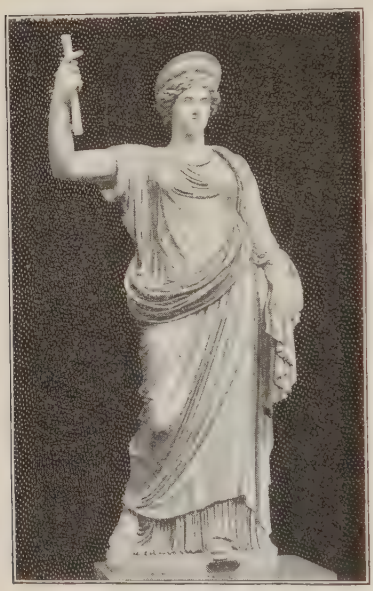
The divine circle of Olympus consisted of the twelve greater deities — six gods and six goddesses. Their personal traits are drawn by Homer, and came afterward to be appropriately expressed in the forms of Greek art. The future culture of Greece is so thoroughly imbued with religious ideas that it is well for us to keep in mind the personality of the Olympian deities. In studying their character we must see that they not only represent the powers of nature, but are clothed with special human qualities and are closely related to special spheres of human life.



ZEUS

The Gods of Olympus. — We may see in each of the gods of Olympus the union of certain natural and human elements. (1) *Zeus* (Jupiter) is the supreme god of the heavens, who gathers the clouds and hurls the lightnings; but he is also the king and father of men, who governs the affairs of the world. (2) *Apollo*, the god of sunlight, is also the god of prophecy, the patron of human art and science, of poetry and music and medicine. (3) *Ares* (Mars), the god of the storm and the tempest, also presides over human turmoils, over wars and battles. (4) *Hermes* (Mercury), the god of the wind, is not only the winged messenger of the gods, but the patron of inventions and commerce, and the master of cunning and deceit. (5) *Posei'don* (Neptune), the god of the sea, not only governs the

ocean, but he also blesses mankind by causing the springs to burst forth from the dry land. (6) *Hephæs'tus* (Vulcan), the god of fire, presides over the working of metals and the mechanic arts which are so useful to man.



HERA

The Goddesses of Olympus. —In the goddesses of Olympus, also, we may see how nature is brought into relation with human life. (1) *Hera* (Juno), the goddess of the sky, is looked upon as the faithful wife of Zeus, the ideal of strict womanly virtues and the jealous guardian of her husband's honor. (2) *Athe'na* (Minerva), the goddess of the pure daylight, is represented as having been born from the forehead of Zeus; she became the ideal of wisdom, of feminine courage and honor, aiding in the household arts of spinning and embroidery, and inspiring men with heroism in war. (3) *Ar'temis* (Diana), the goddess of the moonlight, roams with mortals through fields and groves, aiding the traveler in his journey and the huntsman in the chase. (4) *Aphrodi'te* (Venus), the goddess of the dawn, is the impersonation of human love and beauty. (5) *Deme'ter* (Ceres), the goddess of the earth, watches the growth of grain and is the friend of the husbandman. (6) *Hes'tia* (Vesta), the goddess of fire, is the guardian of the hearth, of domestic life and happiness.

Inferior Deities and Mythical Beings. — But the Greek ideas of the supernatural were not limited to the Olympian circle. There were *Hades* and *Perseph'one* (Pluto and Proser'pina),

the god and goddess of the lower world; *Diony'sus* (Bacchus), the god of wine; *Pan*, the god of the shepherds; *Iris*, the goddess of the rainbow; *Themis*, the goddess of justice — and many others. There were also strange mythical beings, who lived below the plane of the gods — Titans and Giants, Tritons and Sirens, Nymphs and Graces, Demons and Furies, the nine Muses and the three Fates, and Satyrs and Fauns, and Centaurs and Dragons. The Greek imagination peopled the sky, the earth, and the sea with supernatural beings. Men lived everywhere in the midst of an invisible world.

Ideas of the Future Life. — The religious imagery of the Greeks included pictures of the future life. At death, the soul is conducted to the realm of Hades, which is the world of the departed spirits. At its entrance lay the dog Cerberus, the three-headed monster that prevented the spirits from returning to the upper world. Upon the sentence of Minos, the soul is given a place in Elys'ium (e-lĭzh'i-um), the field of the blest, or is condemned to Tar'tarus, the gulf of torment. The ingenious tortures inflicted upon those who have incurred the anger of the gods are described by Homer (Odyssey, Bk. XI.)

Religious Rites and Customs. — If the anger of the gods may result in eternal misery, the most important thing in life is to retain their favor. This idea lies at the root of the religious rites of the early Greeks. Prayers and sacrifices must be offered to retain the divine favor. The sacrifices might consist either in offerings of fruit or grain, or in the slaughter of living victims. The will of the gods might be ascertained by divination, that is, by the interpretation of signs presented by natural phenomena, as the flight of birds, the rolling of thunder, etc.; or one might have recourse to an oracle, established at some fixed place, presided over by priests or priestesses. The priestly class, however, never attained in Greece such an exclusive position and authority as it had in the East.

The Morals of the Homeric Age. — The people of the Homeric period were no better and probably no worse than any other

early people. Their home life was bright and cheerful; and women were held in high esteem. The men were as courageous in war as any men could well be, without any better organization and discipline than those which then prevailed. We find examples of great individual prowess; but we also find instances of vindictive cruelty to a fallen foe. The Greeks were hospitable to the stranger, and listened to the prayer of the suppliant. But they were often tricky and deceitful in their dealings, and even looked upon piracy as an honorable occupation. The question of right and wrong was determined not so much by any proper moral code as by the fear and favor of the gods, which formed the highest motives of human life.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Bury, Ch. 1, § 7, "Homer" (10).[1]
Oman, Ch. 3, "The Homeric Poems and the Greeks of the Homeric Age" (10).
Warr, Ch. 2, "The Homeric Poetry" (15).
Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 5, "The Homeric Poems" (11).
Grote, Part I., Ch. 21, "Grecian Epic — Homeric Poems" (11).
Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 2, "The Homeric Age" (10).
Smith, Ch. 3, "Society in the Heroic Age" (10).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 13, "Civilization of the Asiatic Greeks — Homeric Poetry"; Ch. 14, "Institutions and Mode of Life of the Early Greeks, especially as Described by Homer" (11).
Jebb, Greek Poetry, Ch. 1, "The Distinctive Qualities of the Greek Race as Expressed by Homer" (23).
Keller, Ch. 2, "Industrial Organization" (15).
Homer, Iliad, Bk. I., in Bryant's translation (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Ancient Greek Religion. — Oman, Ch. 4 (10); Holm, Vol. I. Ch. 11 (11); Grote, Part I., Ch. 1 (11); Coulanges, Bk. I. (20); Keller, Ch. 3 (15); Murray, pp. 37–242, 251 (25). See also Appendix (25).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD II. THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK STATES (776-500 B.C.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARACTER OF THE GREEK CITY STATE

I. The Elements of the City State

Transition to Historical Greece. — We have now considered, so far as we are able, the condition of Greece in what is called the Prehistoric Age. We have seen the existence of myths and traditions, which show the poetical tendencies of the Greek mind, but which give us little knowledge of real facts and events. We have also seen the remains of an old civilization, which was strongly influenced by the East, and which was swept away by the Dorian invasion. We have, moreover, seen how the memories of this old Mycenæan civilization were carried to Asia Minor and were preserved in the Homeric poems. While we call this ancient and obscure period the prehistoric age, we must remember that out of it grew the Greece of history. There is no definite date or event which marks the transition from prehistoric to historic times. But from about the eighth century B.C. we begin to see a little more clearly historical events and characters. From this time also the institutions and culture of Greece begin to take more definite forms, such as were preserved in the historical period.

Importance of the City State. — The first and one of the most important facts which we observe in the early historical period is the formation of little city states. Nearly everywhere in

Greece the people were coming to be better organized. They were beginning to establish regular city governments.[1] But these governments were entirely different from the great empires of the East. They were different also from the old monarchies of Tiryns and Mycenæ. The city state was simply a city with its neighboring territory organized under an independent government, in which the people came to have a share. It grew out of a simple condition of society like that which is described in the Homeric poems (see p. 99). Before we consider especially the growth of the two most important city states of Greece, — Sparta and Athens, — let us look at the elements which made up the city state in general.

The Family as the Basis of the State. — We can best understand the way in which the city and its government grew up if we trace them back to their origin in the family. The family was in fact the foundation of the state. To describe the family in the simplest terms, we may say that it was a group of persons bound together by kinship, by a common religion, and by a common authority. The authority which governed the family was that of the father. He was the priest of the family worship, the judge of the family disputes, and the guide in all family matters. With the family as a starting point, we may trace the several steps which finally led to the development of the city as it was in Greece.

The Greek Gens, or Clan. — As the family increased, it expanded into the clan, or gens. This was simply the larger body of family relatives, kept together by a common feeling of kinship. Its members regarded themselves as having descended from a common ancestor. They had a common worship and a common burial place. By living together in the same neighborhood, they formed a little village community,

[1] Among the most flourishing of these city centers were the following: in central Greece, Athens, Eleusis, Platæ'a, Thebes, Orchomenus, Delphi, Naupactus; in the northern Peloponnesus, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Argos, Ne'mea, Corinth, Sicyon (*sĭsh'i-on*), Elis, Olympia: in the southern Peloponnesus, Sparta, Amyclæ, Helos, Mantine'a, Te'gea, Pylos. (See maps, pp. 76, 119.)

and had a simple form of government. They were controlled by a council, composed of the fathers of the different households. They also had a headman, selected by the council, to preside over their common religious rites, to settle disputes between the different families, and to command them, if necessary, in time of war.

The Greek Phratry, or Brotherhood. — In times of great danger different clans or villages would be compelled to unite for common protection. They would select some defensible place, like a hill, for a common rallying point. Here they would swear allegiance to one another in the name of some common god. They would thus establish a common worship. They would then select a common war leader, who would be assisted by a council made up of the different village chiefs. Such a union of neighboring villages was called a "phratry," which means a brotherhood, or fraternal league.

The Greek Phyle, or Tribe. — The same causes which led to the union of villages into a phratry, would lead to the union of phratries into a still larger group. This larger group was the phyle, or tribe. Like the village and the phratry, it was made strong by a common worship. The chief of the tribe was a military leader; but he also performed the common religious rites, and settled disputes, if necessary; in other words, he was a commander in chief, a priest, and a judge. We can readily see that in times of war the power of the tribal chief would be well-nigh absolute. But he was accustomed to call together the lesser chiefs, or leading men of the different phratries, who formed a council; and these leading men would come to be regarded as a privileged class. On important occasions the whole body of people capable of bearing arms might be called together to approve the will of the chief and council.

In this way was gradually formed the tribal state of Homeric times, which formed the basis of the city state of the historical period. We may say in brief that a number of families composed a clan; a number of clans, a phratry; a number of phratries, a tribe; and a number of tribes, the state.

II. The Organization of the City State

The Citadel as a Center of Defense. — The city state was generally made up of a union of tribes; this was the most complete political organization developed by the ancient Greeks. Like the tribe, the city also was formed for the common protection of its people. Hence we find the cities of Greece usually built about high places selected as suitable centers of defense. These hills were fortified and formed citadels, like the Acropolis of Athens. The citadel was thus the nucleus of the city, and about it the people dwelt in their humble homes.

Religion as a Bond of Union. — The people of the city were not only united about a common citadel; they were also bound together by a common religion. Each smaller group — like the family, the gens, etc. — retained its own particular worship; but to be a part of the city it must also recognize the common deity under whose protection the city was founded, and by whose continual worship the city life was maintained. Religion was thus the sacred bond of union which held together the various parts of the community.

The City King, or Basileus. — The city also possessed a political organization, which was developed from that of the tribe. The highest officer of the city was the king (*basileus*). He was, like the tribal chief, the leader of the people in time of war; he was the priest of the common city religion; and he was the chief judge who settled the quarrels arising between different citizens. The king did not govern by any written laws; he settled all questions according to existing customs, or what he supposed to be the will of the gods.

The City Council, or Boule. — Another political feature of the city government was the council of chiefs (*boule*). Like the council of the tribe, it was composed of the most influential men in the community. They were called together whenever the king desired. Their opinions were consulted and their assent was obtained for the purpose of upholding the royal

authority. The chiefs, on account of their superior birth and influence, formed a sort of aristocratic class, or body of nobles.

The City Assembly, or Agora. — It was only in times of great emergency that the king would feel obliged to call upon the people for the expression of their opinion. If a war was to be declared, or an expedition to be undertaken, it was necessary to feel the temper of the people, who were to fight the battles. But the people were called together quite as much to influence them as to ascertain their will. It was only when the city state acquired less of a military and more of a civil character that the assembly of the people (*agora*) became a real democratic element in the state.

City Leagues, or Amphictyonies. — Although the Greek cities were politically independent of one another, they sometimes united into leagues or confederacies, called "amphictyonies." These leagues were generally formed to maintain the worship of some common deity, or to promote common commercial interests, or to protect their members against a common foe. But such a league never became in any proper sense a state. The national life of the Greeks was still restricted to the cities.

III. Political Development in Greece

Tendency to Revolution. — We must not suppose that the Greek city states always remained in the simple and primitive condition which we have just described. Their political life, on the contrary, was one of continual activity and change. One form of government succeeded another as the king, or the nobles, or the people gained the upper hand. Although the different cities presented a great diversity in their political life, we can trace a general tendency in the direction of more democratic ideas and freer institutions.

From Monarchy to Aristocracy. — In the earliest times, the king was the most prominent figure in the government. This supremacy of the king and the royal family is what constitutes a monarchy. But this monarchical form of government did not always last. When the rule of the king became oppressive,

the political power passed into the hands of the nobles. The supremacy of such a class of influential men in the state is what constitutes an aristocracy. If the power is restricted to a very few persons, the government is called an oligarchy. At an early period the political authority in the cities was transferred from the hands of the king to the hands of the nobles; and this change is what we mean by the transition from monarchy to aristocracy, or oligarchy.

From Aristocracy to Tyranny. — When the nobles obtained the supreme power in the city, they were tempted to use it for their own interests. This was often done at the expense of the people. The city population thus came to be divided into two parties, the aristocratic and democratic parties — the former striving to maintain their own power and privileges, and the latter struggling to obtain an equality of rights. In the midst of these popular discontents appeared nearly everywhere the men whom the Greeks called "tyrants." The so-called tyrant was not necessarily a despotic ruler, but a man who had seized the power of the state in an irregular way. He might be a patriot, working for the interests of the people, or he might be a demagogue, working for his own interests. In either case, he was an enemy to the oligarchy; and his triumph meant the overthrow of the aristocratic power. The tyrants were in fact "the means of breaking down the oligarchies in the interests of the people" (Abbott).

From Tyranny to Democracy. — The one-man power was established in many of the cities of Greece. As long as the tyrants looked after the interests of the people, their rule was tolerated. But whenever and wherever they became selfish, ambitious, and oppressive, they were detested. The so-called "age of tyrants" formed, generally speaking, a period of transition to the democratic form of government; and democracy came to be the prevailing form of government in a great part of Hellas. The different states, however, were not equally successful in obtaining a democratic government. The least successful were the Dorian cities, especially Sparta; the most

successful were the Ionian cities, especially Athens. Sparta and Athens, indeed, represent the two extreme tendencies in the political development of Greece; and hence they may be taken to illustrate the two types of the Greek city state. In Sparta we shall see the forms of a monarchical government still preserved, but the real power passing into the hands of a small part of the people, which resulted in the growth of an aristocracy, or oligarchy. In Athens, on the other hand, we shall see the forms of monarchy entirely abolished and the political power transferred to the great body of citizens, resulting in the growth of a well-organized democratic state.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Bury, Ch. 1, § 1, "Political and Social Organization of the Early Greek States"; § 9, "Fall of Greek Monarchies and Rise of Republics" (10).[1]

Abbott, Vol. II., Introduction, "Sketch of Constitutional History" (11).

Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 9, "Evolution of Governments" (10).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 20, "Political Development of the Greek States" (11).

Whibley, Greek Oligarchies, Ch. 3, "Historical Development of Constitutions" (20).

Greenidge, Ch. 2, "Early Development of the Greek Constitution through Monarchy, Aristocracy, Tyranny, to Constitutional Government" (20).

Fowler, Ch. 2, "Genesis of the City State"; Ch. 3, "Its First Form of Government"; Ch. 4, "Rise of Aristocratic Government"; Ch. 5, "Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy" (20).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Greek "Tyrannies." — Smith, Ch. 9 (10); Oman, Ch. 10 (10); Cox, Bk. I., Ch. 6 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 10 (10); Bury, pp. 144–157 (10); Greenidge, pp. 25–35 (20); Fowler, pp. 140–149 (20); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 22 (11); Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 12 (11); Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 4 (12).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER IX

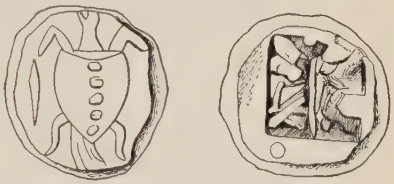
THE DORIAN CITY STATE — SPARTA

I. Political Growth of Sparta

Character of the Dorian Race. — The first people of historic Greece to attain political distinction were the Dorians. Since leaving their early home in Thessaly (see page 81), this people had preserved the simple character and rugged habits of their ancestors. They were by nature fitted for a kind of culture different from that which prevailed among the people whom they drove from the Peloponnesus. They had no love for the massive walls, the gorgeous palaces, and golden ornaments of Tiryns and Mycenæ; and, unlike the Achæans, they did not fall under the spell of Orientalism. They came into the Peloponnesus as conquerors; and they seemed to know that to maintain their supremacy over others, they must learn to govern themselves. The Dorians were thus the leaders in the development of a distinct Hellenic culture — a culture based not upon extravagance and excess, like that of the East, but upon restraint and self-control. The phase of Greek culture which they established was not, however, intellectual and artistic, but physical and military. This physical training, crude as it may have been in its methods, made sturdy men and hardy warriors. It made the Dorians supreme in the Peloponnesus and for a time in Hellas.

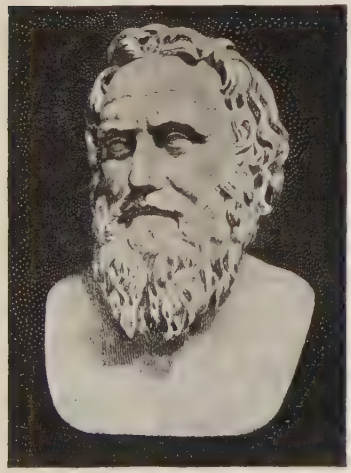
The Rise of Sparta. — In their conquest of the Peloponnesus the Dorians took possession of three important countries — Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. Their first important cities arose in Argolis; chief of them was Argos. One of the rulers of Argos, Phi'don by name, was especially noted as the man who introduced a system of weights and measures, and who established a mint for the coinage of money. From Argos as a center, the Dorians subdued the towns of Corinth,

Meg'ara, and Sicyon (*sish'i-on;* map, p. 119). But all the Dorian cities were at last overshadowed by Sparta, a town of Laconia, which we may regard as the typical city state of the Dorian race. Situated on the Euro'tas River, it was at first a mere military garrison, struggling to maintain itself against a hostile people. By degrees it gained in strength until it became the center of the Dorian civilization. This remarkable city owed its success to its peculiar organization and discipline, said to have been established by Lycur'gus



Coin of Phidon

The Legislation of Lycurgus. — The Spartans always looked upon Lycurgus as the founder of their institutions. But all we know of this famous lawgiver is gathered from traditions which are not very trustworthy. He is said to have ordered the people to recognize the gods, and to build temples to Zeus and Athena; to have divided the population into tribes and clans (*obes*); and to have instituted a council of chiefs and an assembly. It is quite evident that these institutions could not have been established by Lycurgus, for they were common to all the Greek states, and were similar to those of the Homeric age. But without attempting to say exactly what was and what was not established by Lycurgus, or to settle the question whether or



Lycurgus (So-called)

not there was such a man, we may review the Spartan institutions as they existed in historical times.

Divisions of the People. — The first thing we notice in Sparta is the division of the whole population into three classes — which had evidently grown up as the result of the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus.

1. The upper class consisted of the Spartans themselves, the descendants of the Dorian conquerors. They were the free inhabitants of the Spartan city, and were the sole possessors of political rights and privileges. They formed a comparatively small part of the entire population — not more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms. They received the best portions of the land; but they were forbidden themselves to till the soil, or to do the work of artisans or traders. Their sole occupation was war and service to the state.

2. The next class comprised the Periœ'ci (dwellers around), who formed a large part of the conquered people. They lived in the neighboring towns, farmed the lands of the state, and engaged in manufactures and commerce. They were personally free, but forced to pay tribute to Sparta. They were, moreover, called upon to serve in the Spartan army in time of war, and were even assigned to posts of command.

3. The lowest class were the Helots, or serfs, who tilled the soil allotted to the citizens. They belonged to the state, and could not be sold by their Spartan masters. They formed the largest part of the population. They had no rights, and their condition was wretched.

The Spartan Government. — The form of the government of Sparta was an outgrowth of the system which prevailed in the tribal state of Homeric times. This we see in the three branches of the early government, the kingship, the senate, and the assembly.

1. At the head of the state were two kings, members of distinct royal families. The origin of this double kingship it is difficult to determine. The kings acted as a restraint upon each other, and this tended to weaken the royal power.

2. A more important element of the state was the senate (*geron'sia*). This was a body composed of thirty of the leading citizens, including the two kings. In early times the members of the senate no doubt represented the clans which united to form the state. But in historical times they were elected by the citizens. They must be sixty years of age, and they held their position for life. Originally the senators were simply the advisors of the kings; but they came to be the sharers of their power. They not only determined largely the policy of the kings, but were judges in criminal cases, and prepared the matters which came before the assembly.

3. The third branch of Spartan government was the assembly (*apel'la*), which consisted of all Spartan citizens above thirty years of age. The assembly not only elected the senators, but decided upon the most important matters of state. It ratified the laws, determined questions of war and peace, and settled disputes regarding the royal succession. The highest power thus rested in the body of Spartan citizens; and in this respect the state might be called a democracy. But when we consider the fact that the body of citizens formed but a small part of the whole population, the government can more properly be regarded as an aristocracy.

The Ephors and their Power. — We should not have a complete view of the Spartan constitution if we failed to notice the ephors (watchers), who were officers peculiar to Sparta. They were five in number, and formed a kind of supervisory board. They were elected by the assembly each year to protect the interests of the people against the encroachments of the kings and the senate. They came in time to be the guardians of the constitution and the real rulers of the state. They exercised executive and judicial powers, punished those who opposed their will, and called to account the officials, even the kings; and from their sentence there was no appeal. But more than all, they supervised the Spartan discipline and training, which, above everything else, determined the character of the Spartan state.

II. The Spartan Discipline and Education

Character of the Spartan Discipline. — The strength of Sparta was due not so much to the form of her government as to the character of her citizens. If there is anything that Sparta owed to some lawgiver like Lycurgus, it was, no doubt, that peculiar form of discipline by which her citizens were trained to be soldiers, and her soldiers to be lovers of their country. The great end of this training was to fit the citizen for the service of the state. This end was attained by a system of public education and supervision which began with childhood and ended only with old age.

Education of the Young. — The Spartans evidently believed that the character of a nation depends upon the training of its children. If the state is to be prepared for war, the children must be physically strong and inured to hardships akin to those of war. The Spartan elders decided whether each child, at birth, was sufficiently strong to be reared, or whether he should be exposed to the wild beasts. At the age of seven the boy was taken from his mother's care and placed in the hands of the public trainers. From this time he was subject to a training which was severe, and which to us seems brutal; but to the Spartans it seemed the necessary preparation for a soldier's life. The boy was obliged to prepare his own meals; to wear the same clothing summer and winter; to sleep on a bed of rushes; to forage at home as he would be obliged to forage in the field; to deceive his friend as he would deceive his foe; to be hardened by the lash that he might better endure the hardships of the camp. To develop his physical strength and agility, he was trained in gymnastic exercises, in running, wrestling, and throwing the javelin.

If the boys were trained to become men in the Spartan sense, the girls were trained to become the mothers of such men, to be healthy and strong; so that it was said that the Spartan women were the most vigorous and beautiful of all the women of Greece. The Spartans had little sympathy with

higher intellectual culture, with art and science. Music and poetry, however, were appreciated if they were inspired with a martial spirit. But oratory had for them no attraction; and they insisted upon brevity of speech.

Restraints upon Luxury. — The supervision of the state was exercised not only over the training of the young, but over the lives of all citizens. Every form of luxury was discouraged. The dress was simple. The houses were humble and unadorned. Money was not lavished upon public buildings and works of art. The temptations to a life of luxury were withstood, especially by the institution of public meals (*syssitia*). The men were organized in companies, and each one contributed to the common meal. The fare was of the simplest sort, the chief dish being the famous "black broth."[1] The men were withdrawn from their families and lived in public barracks. Home life was thus destroyed in the interests of the state. In these ways the simple and severe discipline of the camp was maintained in peace as well as in war.

Military Organization. — The Spartans evidently knew that battles are not to be won by mere physical courage and endurance. They knew that to make an effective army, men must be properly organized and officered. Hitherto men had fought in large masses, arranged by tribes and clans, and directed by the herald of the king. The Spartans introduced a new arrangement, something like our modern companies, regiments, and brigades. The smallest division was a company of twenty-five or thirty men under a captain. Each division, from the largest to the smallest, was under its own officers; and the orders from the commander in chief were transmitted through these different grades of officers. The men marched to the music of the fife, and were trained in various tactical evolutions. The Spartans came to have the most efficient army of Greece, and, as a matter of fact, of the world at that time.

[1] This national dish of the Spartans consisted of "pork cooked in blood and seasoned with salt and vinegar" (Gilbert, Constitutional Antiquities, p. 69).

III. Supremacy of Sparta in the Peloponnesus

Conquest of Laconia and Messenia. — With such a political and military organization, Sparta was able not only to maintain her own position, but also to extend her authority over her neighbors. But this was accomplished only after a long series of struggles. The valley of the Eurotas was first subdued. The Achæan city of Amyclæ was conquered, and also Helos near the mouth of the river. The possession of Cynu'ria, the territory bordering upon Argolis, was wrested from Argos; and it was not long before the whole of Laconia was Spartan territory. Sparta was then brought into contact with Messenia, the country to the west of the Taÿg'etus Mountains. After two severe wars — each covering a period of twenty years — the Spartans were finally victorious, and the inhabitants of Messenia either fled into exile or were reduced to the condition of helots.

Extension of the Spartan Power. — Sparta now turned her attention to the other states of the Peloponnesus. After a stubborn resistance — especially on the part of the city of Te'gea — Arcadia was compelled to acknowledge her supremacy. She was then called upon to interfere in a quarrel going on in Elis in regard to the control of the Olympian games; and she succeeded in establishing her superior influence in that district. The city of Argos maintained a bitter opposition to Sparta, and was able to preserve its independence; but a large part of Argolis was brought under Spartan control.

The Peloponnesian League. — By her conquests and alliances Sparta became the supreme power in the Peloponnesus. With the exception of Argos and the district of Achaia, all the states of the peninsula were united under the hegemony, or leadership, of this one power. The inhabitants of these states were permitted to retain their local independence; and each state possessed an equal vote in a council which was supposed to regulate matters of common interest. As a result of this policy there arose a Peloponnesian league, but not

THE PELOPONNESUS

a Peloponnesian state. Sparta was still a city state, maintaining an authority over other city states.

Position of Sparta in Greece. — While there are many things that we might criticise in the narrow government, the austere training, and the domineering policy of Sparta, we must confess that she contributed much to the future greatness of Greece. She set an example of simplicity in life, of self-control, of patriotic devotion, of respect for existing institutions. She showed the importance of physical education, of healthy, strong, and symmetrical bodies; and she gave Greece an ideal of physical manhood, which furnished an inspiration to Greek sculpture. She also set a pattern of military organization, by which in the subsequent period of foreign invasions Greece

was saved from destruction. Although Sparta did not represent the highest culture of Greece, she did much to make that highest culture possible.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Cox, Ch. 5, "Constitution and Early History of Sparta" (10).[1]
Smith, Ch. 7, "Early History of the Peloponnesus" (10).
Bury, Ch. 3, "Growth of Sparta" (10).
Oman, Ch. 7, "The Dorians in the Peloponnesus" (10).
Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 8, "The Spartan State" (10).
Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 1, "History of the Peloponnesus" (11).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 15, "Sparta, the Constitution of Lycurgus" (11).
Greenidge, Ch. 5, "Mixed Constitutions" (20).
Gilbert, pp. 81–91, "The Lacedæmonian League" (20).
Plutarch, "Lycurgus" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Spartan Discipline. — Oman, pp. 68–70 (10); Smith, pp. 66–69 (10); Abbott, Vol. I., pp. 211–217 (11); Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 215–222 (11); Holm, Vol. I., pp. 181–185 (11); Grote, Part II., Ch. 6 (11); Blümner, Ch. 3 (22).

CHAPTER X

THE IONIAN CITY STATE — ATHENS

I. The Athenian Monarchy and its Decline

Character of the Ionian Race. — As the Dorians represented the physical and military side of Greek culture, so the Ionians represented its political and intellectual side. The Ionians, therefore, stand for what we generally regard as the highest and most essential features of Greek civilization — the love of freedom, the taste for intellectual pursuits, and a fine sense of beauty. The chief seats of the Ionian race were Attica, the

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

islands of Eubœa and the Cyclades, and the central coasts of Asia Minor (see map, page 80). Of all the Ionian city states, Athens may be regarded as the most typical. The history of this state shows a continual tendency in the direction of democratic institutions. As we study it we shall see passing before us in succession the various phases of government — monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, and democracy.

The Ancient Monarchy of Athens. — Our knowledge of the early history of Athens is based almost entirely upon traditions; but we are able to see that its most ancient government was patterned after the Homeric type — with a king, a council, and an assembly. We can also see that the Athenian state was evidently formed, in the usual way, out of a union of smaller groups — the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe — each of which was bound together by a common religion. The district of Attica was covered by a number of small communities, each of which had been formed by such a union; and these communities came to be united about the Acropolis of Athens — the common citadel of Attica — where they joined in the common worship of Athena.

The king was the head of this common state; and he was supposed to have founded the early institutions of Athens — which in fact were the result of a gradual growth. The royal line included a long list of names from Cecrops, the mythical founder of Athens, to Codrus, the "last of the kings." The most celebrated of the intervening kings were Erech'theus, after whom one of the noted buildings of Athens was named (Erechthe'um), and Theseus, who was said to have brought the various towns of Attica (twelve in number) under one centralized monarchy. While we know very little of these traditional kings, there can be little doubt that the ancient monarchy was the result of a gathering together of the smaller Ionian towns of Attica about a common center at Athens.

Divisions of the People in Attica. — In each of the Ionian towns of Attica there were certain divisions of the people which remained after the towns were united under the common

monarchy. In the first place, there were the four Ionian tribes which bore distinct names (*Geleon'tes, Hople'tes, Ægic'ores*, and *Ar'gades*) and which were each made up of phratries and clans. In the next place, there were three class divisions, upon which were based social rank and political privileges: (1) the well-born, or nobles (*Eupat'ridæ*), (2) the farmers (*Geom'ori*), and (3) the artisans (*Demiur'gi*). Of these classes the Eu'patrids stood nearest to the king. They were the only persons who possessed political privileges; and from them the king chose the members of his council. If the rest of the freemen were ever called together in an assembly, it was only on very rare occasions.

Decline of the Monarchy; the Archonship. — The decline of the kingly power at Athens was woven by tradition into a patriotic story. It is related that when the Dorians were once invading Attica, an oracle declared that that side would win whose king was slain. Codrus was then the king of Athens. In order to save his country Codrus devoted himself to death; he disguised himself as a peasant, entered the ranks of the enemy, and was killed; and the Athenians declared that no one after Codrus was worthy to bear the name of king. This was the tradition. The fact seems to be that the power of the king gradually declined, as other magistrates were appointed to exercise authority alongside of him. Relating to this subject Ar'istotle, who wrote a book on the Athenian government, says: "The first magistrates, both in date and importance, were the king, the polemarch (or commander in war), and the archon. The earliest of these offices was that of the king, which existed from the very beginning. To this was added, secondly, the office of polemarch, for the reason that some of the kings were feeble in war. The last of these three offices was that of the archon" (Athenian Constitution, Ch. 3). Afterward, there were appointed six junior magistrates called, by way of distinction, *thesmoth'etæ*, or guardians of the law. This whole body of magistrates came to be called the "nine archons." They were arranged in the following order: first, the three senior archons.

including (1) the chief archon, after whom the year was named, and who came to be regarded as the highest civil officer, (2) the polemarch, who commanded the army, (3) the king archon, who presided over the public worship; and, secondly, the six junior archons, or *thesmothetæ*, who were equal in rank, who kept the public records, and who acted as judges in certain cases. The nine archons were chosen from the body of Eupatrids, or the nobles, and served for a year. Those who had served as archons became members of the council — which position they held for life. As this council was accustomed to sit on the hill of Ares (Mars), it was called the "Council of the Areop'agus."

The Conspiracy of Cylon (628 B.C.). — Although the kingship had now given way to the archonship, still the government was entirely in the hands of the noble families; that is, the Eupatrids. Their rule was often harsh, and the people were discontented. We now see the first attempt to establish a "tyranny" at Athens. The story goes that an ambitious young man by the name of Cylon — who had won a foot race at the Olympian games and had married the daughter of the tyrant of Megara — hoped that his popularity would enable him to acquire the same power in Athens that his father-in-law exercised in Megara. So, with the aid of Megarian troops, he and his followers seized the Acropolis. But the people, instead of coming to his support, as he expected, joined the nobles in putting down the conspiracy. They besieged the Acropolis, and starved the conspirators into submission. Cylon himself escaped; but his followers, when they saw that they must surrender, sought refuge near the shrine of Athena, which stood upon the summit of the Acropolis. To seize them while under the protection of the goddess would have been sacrilege. The archon Meg'acles, therefore, induced them to leave the shrine by promising them a fair trial. But to guard against any possible treachery, they attached a cord to the statue of the goddess, and, holding to this as a safeguard, they descended from the citadel. When they reached the foot of the

hill, the cord broke, and by command of the archon they were nearly all massacred. Thus the first attempt at tyranny proved a failure. On account of the treacherous act of the archon Megacles, his family (called the Alcmæon'idæ) was "accursed." The city of Megara, also, incurred the bitter hatred of the Athenians for its aid in this conspiracy.

The Reforms of Draco (621 B.C.). — We can not say exactly what effect the conspiracy of Cylon had upon the condition of the people. It may be that they were emboldened to make new demands for justice and equality. It may be that their loyalty during this disturbance induced the nobles to grant them some rights. However this may be, certain changes were made which were intended to bring about a more peaceful condition of things. These changes were made by Draco, one of the six junior archons.

In the first place, if we are to believe Aristotle, there were some political changes made by Draco. "The franchise was given to all who could furnish themselves with a military equipment. There was also to be a new council, consisting of four hundred and one members, elected by lot from among those who possessed the franchise. Both for this council and for the other magistracies, the lot was cast among those who were over thirty years of age; and no one might hold office twice until every one else had had his turn" (Athenian Constitution, Ch. 4).[1] By giving the franchise to those who could furnish themselves with a military equipment, Draco made wealth, as well as birth, the basis of political rights.

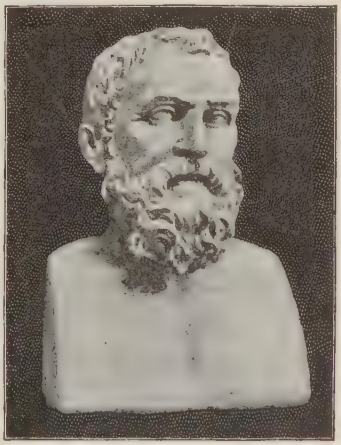
Another change attributed to Draco was the reduction of the laws to a written form. Hitherto the law had been simply a body of customs which the nobles could interpret about as they pleased. When now these customs were written down, their severity became apparent; so that it was said that the

[1] The attempt of certain recent critics (like Nissen, Niese, and Peter Meyer in his "Aristotle's Politics and the Athenian Constitution") to throw discredit upon the above statements can not be regarded as successful, and seems to have been fully met by Gustav Gilbert. (Cf. "Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens," Eng. ed., 1895, pp. xxxiii–xxxix; also p. 119, note.)

laws of Draco were "written not in ink but in blood." And there was some ground for this opinion; for a petty theft could be punished by death, and an insolvent debtor could be sold into slavery. But this severity was probably due not to Draco, but to the old customs themselves, which he simply put into a written form.

II. Solon and the Athenian Aristocracy

Solon as a Reformer. — Thus far we have seen the decline of the old Athenian monarchy and the growth of an aristocratic form of government — a government which rested not only upon the high-born Eupatrids, but upon the wealthy men who could furnish the equipment of a heavy-armed soldier. This aristocratic government was reorganized by Solon. It was placed by him upon a broader basis, which prepared the way for the future democracy. The Athenians looked upon Solon as their greatest lawgiver. He was fitted by nature to be a social and political reformer. He was a man of thought, and was counted among the seven wise men of Greece. Like a genuine Greek, he believed in moderation in all things. He was, withal, a philanthropist and patriot, and placed all his ability at the service of his country.



Solon (So-called)

Need of Social Reform. — The legislation and reforms of Draco did not relieve to any extent the condition of the common people. The government was still in the hands of those who were privileged by birth or the possession of wealth. But

more than this, the poorer classes were held in a state of practical bondage to the rich. Aristotle has given us a vivid account of the condition of the people at this time. "The whole country," he says, "was in the hands of a few persons; and if the poor tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be reduced to slavery, and their children with them. Their persons were mortgaged to their creditors, a custom which prevailed until the time of Solon, who was the first to appear as the leader of the people. But the hardest and bitterest part of the condition of the masses was the fact that they had no share in the offices existing under the constitution. At the same time they were discontented with every other feature of their lot; for, to speak generally, they had no part nor share in anything." (Athenian Constitution, Ch. 2.)

Removal of Economic Burdens. — Solon was elected to the archonship (594 B.C.), with full authority to remedy the evils of the state. His first measure was to emancipate the debtor slaves. The persons who had been sold into slavery were freed. Those who had fled into exile to escape the cruelty of their masters were called back. The lands of the poor which had been mortgaged were relieved from their burdens. All debts secured upon the persons or property of debtors were canceled;[1] and all loans made upon the security of the person were henceforth prohibited. This social reform was called "the removal of burdens."

Athenian Coin of Solon's Time

Extension of Political Rights. — The reforms of Solon affected not only the social condition of the people, but their political rights as well. He knew that the people could not protect

[1] Aristotle says that Solon "canceled all debts public and private"; but he probably had in mind the kind of debts which caused the wretched condition of the people which Solon intended to relieve.

themselves unless they received a larger share in the government. He did not, however, break down all class distinctions and make a pure democracy; but he did give to all the free inhabitants of Attica certain political privileges according to the amount of their wealth. The people had already been divided for the purposes of taxation into four "census classes" as follows: —

1. Those who received from their land an income of five hundred measures of barley or wine, and were called "Five Hundred Measure Men" (*Pentaco'sio-medim'ni*).

2. Those who received three hundred measures, and could furnish a horse for the army, and hence were called "Knights" (*Hip'peis*).

3. Those who received two hundred measures, and were supposed to be able to own a yoke of oxen, and were called "Yokemen" (*Zeug'itæ*).

4. All others, whether they owned landed property or not, called "Laborers" (*The'tes*).

Upon these census classes Solon based the distribution of political rights; that is, the right to hold office and the right to vote. The archons could be elected only from the first class. The inferior officers could be elected from the first, second, or third class, but not from the fourth class. The members of all four classes, however, could vote in the assembly. Still further to protect the lower classes from injustice, he established a system of jury courts (*heliæ'a*) in which all citizens, including the Thetes, could sit as jurors (*dicas'tæ*).

The New Council of Four Hundred. — Solon retained the old Council of the Areopagus, which continued, as Aristotle says, to be the "guardian of the constitution," since it watched over the conduct of the magistrates and the welfare of the citizens, and punished the greater crimes against the state. But the Council of Four Hundred and One, established by Draco, was abolished; and a new Council of Four Hundred was created — one hundred members being chosen by lot from each of the four Ionian tribes. This council prepared the laws to be sub-

mitted to the people in the assembly. In this, as in the other features of the new constitution, we can see that the purpose of Solon was not to destroy the aristocratic element in the state, but to give a greater importance to the democratic element.

Solon and the Athenian Discipline. — Like the Spartans, Solon believed that the character of the state depended upon some form of discipline. But, unlike the Spartans, he believed that the sources of public virtue were in the home. He held the father responsible for training the son in habits of industry. He believed that education — physical, intellectual, and moral — was a means of preserving the state. "In the shady wrestling-grounds, which spread themselves out in the neighborhood of the city, the young Athenians were to unfold the vigor of their bodies and minds, and grow to be a part of the state, which demanded men not drilled in the Spartan fashion, but fully and freely developed" (Curtius). Solon believed it to be the duty of every citizen to have an interest in public affairs; and he disfranchised the man who refused to take part in political life. He also believed that individual liberty should be restrained in the interests of public morality; and he punished those who led infamous lives, or attempted to corrupt others. The Athenians were thus trained by a discipline, no less than the Spartans. But it was a discipline more rational, and based upon broader ideas of human nature; and it finally led to a higher form of culture.

The Last Years of Solon. — The reforms of Solon were guided by wisdom and moderation. They were therefore criticised by the extremists of all parties. That they might be fairly tested, Solon is said to have bound the Athenians by an oath to observe them for ten years; and then he departed from the city. He traveled in Egypt, in Cyprus, and is said to have visited Crœsus, the king of Lydia. In response to a question of the king, as to who was the happiest of men, Solon, knowing the fickleness of fortune, is said to have replied that "no one can be counted truly happy until he is dead." Whether this story is true or not, the fate of Crœsus afforded an example

of the truth of these words; for he was afterward driven from his throne. Indeed, Solon also learned their truth; for when he returned to Athens, he found his native city, for whose happiness he had so faithfully labored, still disturbed by civil strife, and he was led to believe that his work was a failure.

III. Pisistratus and the Athenian Tyranny

Political Parties at Athens. — As the old distinctions based upon birth — the high born and the low born — were passing away, new parties were growing up, composed of men who were looking after their own special interests. These parties took their names from the localities where they received their strongest support. There were, in the first place, the wealthy landowners, whose estates occupied the most fertile part of the lowlands, and who were hence called the Men of the Plain; they formed the extreme aristocratic or oligarchical party. In the next place, there were the small farmers, shepherds, and herdsmen living upon the highlands, and therefore called the Men of the Hill; they formed the extreme democratic or popular party. Finally, there were the merchants and traders engaged in commerce, and hence called the Men of the Shore; they formed the moderate or conservative party. During the absence of Solon these parties were engaged in bitter struggles. In the midst of this strife and discord, one of the chief defects of the Athenian constitution became apparent. This was the lack of a single executive head, with sufficient power to administer the government with a firm hand. The war between the parties gave an opportunity for an ambitious man to seize the government, and to rule as a "tyrant."

Usurpation of Pisistratus. — The man who now played the rôle of tyrant at Athens was Pisis'tratus. He was an able general, a fluent speaker, a man who combined culture with craftiness. Although a noble by birth, he espoused the cause of the people and became the leader of the popular party. To seize the government he used a stratagem. He suddenly

appeared one day in the market place with bloody wounds inflicted by his own hand. But he gave the people to believe that he had received these wounds in defending their rights. In spite of the protest of Solon, the people were deceived and voted him a bodyguard of fifty men armed with clubs. With this he seized the Acropolis and made himself supreme (560 B.C.). After a rule of five years his enemies united and he was driven into exile. To restore himself to power he resorted to another stratagem. This time he was drawn into the city in a chariot attended by a stately woman dressed in armor to represent the goddess Athena, under whose ægis he claimed to be brought back to power. The people were again deceived, and he was reinstated. After a rule of six years he was again expelled. He recovered his power a third time, not by a stratagem, but by open force, with the aid of a body of mercenaries obtained from Argos. From this time he was permitted to rule until his death.

The Rule of Pisistratus. — The methods which Pisistratus used to acquire his power were entirely different from the mode in which he exercised it during his three successive terms. "His administration," says Aristotle, "was more like a constitutional government than the rule of a tyrant." He retained the political forms established by Solon, only taking care that his own supporters should be elected to the archonship. He advanced money to the poorer people to aid them in obtaining a livelihood. He appointed local judges in the country, so that the rights of the lower classes might be protected without their being obliged to come to the city for justice. He adorned Athens with public buildings, not only to satisfy his own love of art, but to give work to the unemployed. He was a patron of literature and collected a library which he threw open to the public. He is said to have made the first collection of Homer's poems. He gathered about him the poets and artists of Greece. He also encouraged commerce and formed alliances with foreign states. He encouraged in every way the worship of the gods, and instituted

splendid festivals in their honor. Although a tyrant by name, he was one of the greatest of Athenian rulers, and began the policy which afterward made Athens the literary and art center of Greece.

Fall of the Athenian Tyranny. — At the death of Pisistratus, the power passed into the hands of his two sons, Hip'pias and Hippar'chus. Hippias, being the elder, was really the head of the government. During the early years of his rule he followed his father's example, governing the people with mildness and encouraging art and literature. But a conspiracy was formed, led by the noted tyrannicides, Harmo'dius and Aristogi'ton, resulting in the assassination of the younger brother, Hipparchus. Embittered by this deed, Hippias became a tyrant in fact. He put to death his suspected enemies. He banished those whom he feared. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard of foreign mercenaries. He imposed arbitrary taxes upon the people. As the result of four years of such despotic rule, the name of tyrant was made forever odious to the Athenians. But Athens was helpless to throw off this tyranny without the aid of the gods or the help of some foreign power. The gods, accordingly, sent a foreign power to their relief. The Spartans were enjoined by the Delphic oracle to go to the aid of Athens. Under their king, Cleom'enes, the Spartan army entered the city and invested the citadel. The children of Hippias were captured by the Spartans; and to obtain their release, Hippias surrendered the Acropolis (510 B.C.). He was permitted to retire into Asia Minor; the Athenians passed against him and his family a sentence of perpetual exile, and he became an open and bitter enemy of Greece.

IV. Clisthenes and the Athenian Democracy

Transition from Tyranny to Democracy. — During the fifty years which extended from the rise of Pisistratus to the fall of Hippias (560–510 B.C.), the Athenians were able to see

the dangers of a tyranny. They learned that the character of a tyranny depended upon the character of the tyrant. If the power was in the hands of an able and generous man like Pisistratus, the people might prosper; but if it fell into the hands of a suspicious and violent man like Hippias, their liberties would be endangered. The man who now appeared as the friend of the people was Clis'thenes, who had taken part in overthrowing the recent tyranny. He was an able and far-seeing statesman, and one of the greatest political reformers that Greece ever produced. Although not devoid of personal ambition, he identified his own interests with those of the people, and placed the government upon a more democratic basis.

New Territorial Basis of the State. — The political organization had hitherto been based upon the old Ionian tribes, which were made up of phratries and clans. To possess any political rights, one must, therefore, belong to one of the old Ionian families. But Clisthenes laid a new foundation to the state, by dividing the territory into local districts and giving to all persons residing in these districts a share in the government. The smallest district was the *deme*, or township, which had its own local government, with its town officers and its town meeting. A number of demes (generally three or four) made the next larger district, the *trittys*, which might be compared to our county. There were thirty of these trittyes — a group of ten in and about the city of Athens, of ten along the coast, and of ten in the intermediate territory. To make his new local *tribe*, which was a sort of senatorial district, Clisthenes selected by lot one trittys from the city group, one from the coast group, and one from the intermediate group. In this way the territory of Attica was divided into ten local tribes, each one of which was made up of people living in different localities. This ingenious arrangement tended to break down the old strife between the men of the Plain, the Hill, and the Shore. We might compare the old Ionian state of Solon with the new Attic state of Clisthenes as follows: —

The Old Ionian State	*The New Attic State*
4 Ionian tribes.	10 local tribes.
12 phratries, or brotherhoods.	30 trittyes, or county districts.
360 (?) clans, or gentes.	100 (?) demes, or townships.

The New Government of Clisthenes. — The new territorial division of the people furnished a new basis for the various branches of the government.

1. The assembly (*eccle'sia*) was now made up of all persons who were enrolled in the various demes, whether they were members of the old Ionic tribes or not. The assembly became the real sovereign power in the state. It passed upon questions relating not only to peace and war, but also to revenues and taxation, and to domestic and foreign policy.

2. The senate (*boule*) was now composed of five hundred members, fifty of whom were chosen by lot from each local tribe, or senatorial district. It took the place of the old Council of Four Hundred chosen from the Ionian tribes. It formed a deliberative body, preparing measures to be submitted to the assembly, and it also had a supervision over matters of administration.

3. The chief magistrates were still the nine archons, who were, however, now chosen by lot from candidates presented by the demes. About this time there was a new arrangement made in respect to military officials. Ten generals (*strate'gi*) were elected, — probably one from each tribe, — to command the ten tribal regiments; while the polemarch remained the commander in chief of the whole army. The ten generals came in time to supersede the archons as chief magistrates of the state.

Protection against Tyranny; Ostracism. — The great purpose of Clisthenes was to insure the political equality of all citizens. The changes which he made in the constitution were sufficient to protect the state against the dangers of aristocracy. Neither birth nor wealth now conferred any special privileges. It was also necessary to protect the state against the dangers of tyranny, or the usurpation of power by a prominent party leader.

Clisthenes decided to leave to the people themselves the question whether the presence of any man threatened the safety of the state. If at any special meeting of the assembly, called for that purpose, six thousand votes were cast against any man, that man was obliged to withdraw from the city for ten years. As these votes were written upon pieces of earthenware (*ostraca*), the process was called "ostracism." It was intended, not as a punishment, but as a precaution. The person ostracized lost none of his rights of person or property; he simply went into an honorable exile. This peculiar custom, while it was intended as a safeguard against tyranny, was yet capable of abuse and of being used for partisan purposes.

The Triumph of Democracy. — From this review we can see how the ancient monarchy of Athens was gradually transformed into a well-organized democracy. The old king, who held his office by hereditary right, was displaced by the archons, chosen at first from the nobles, and finally from the whole body of the people. The ancient Council of Elders, or war chiefs, passed into the Council of the Areopagus, which consisted of the ex-archons, and which was supplemented by new councils, — at first, the Council of Four Hundred and One, established by Draco, and chosen from the wealthy classes; afterward, the Council of Four Hundred, established by Solon, and chosen from the four Ionian tribes; and, finally, the Council of Five Hundred, established by Clisthenes, and chosen from the members of the new Attic tribes. The assembly had passed through somewhat similar changes, until it had come to be composed of the whole body of citizens, and to hold the sovereign power of the state. As Athens came to represent the principle of democracy, the Spartans came to be the chief defenders of the aristocratic principle. Under their king, Cleomenes, they even invaded Attica and attempted to overthrow the new Athenian constitution; but these efforts proved a failure. With her democratic institutions firmly established, Athens continued to grow in strength until she became the chief city of Hellas and the champion of Greek liberty.

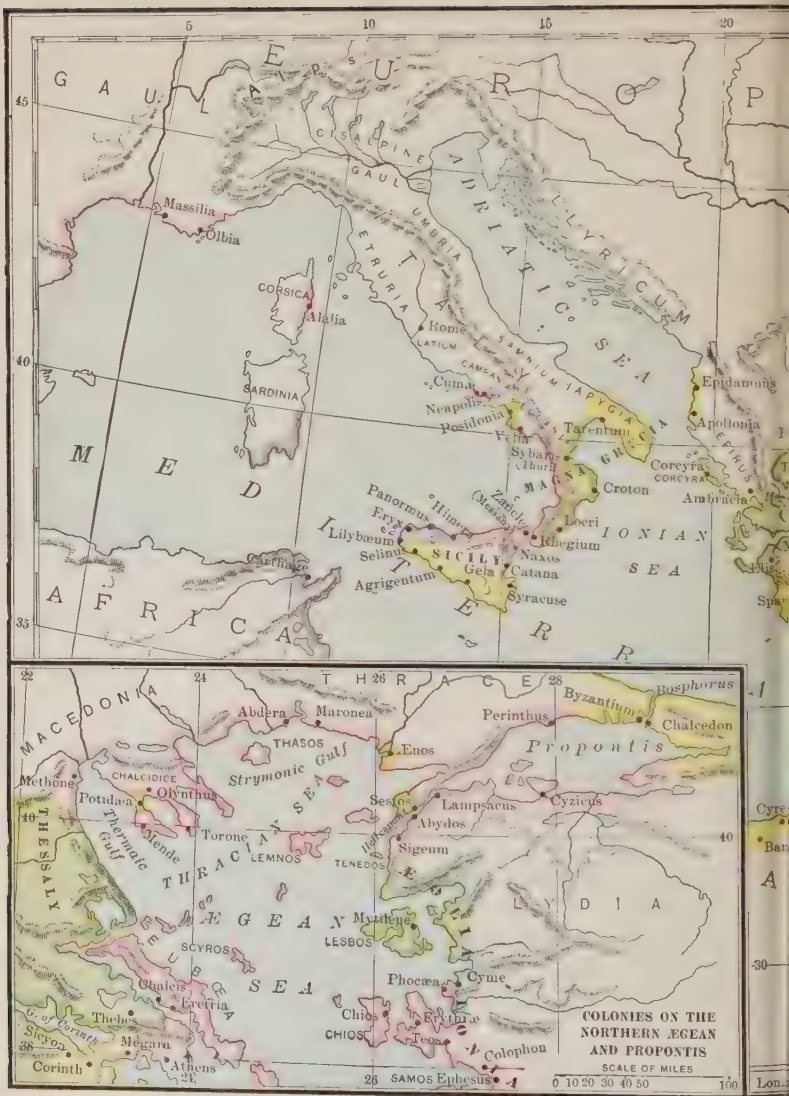
SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 10, "Early History of Athens to Pisistratus" (10).[1]
Oman, Ch. 11, "Early History of Attica"; Ch. 13, "Solon and Peisistratus" (10).
Bury, Ch. 4, "Union of Attica and the Foundation of the Athenian Democracy" (10).
Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 2, "History of Attica" (11).
Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 9, "Early Attica"; Ch. 13, "Solon" (11).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 26, "Athens to the Time of Solon"; Ch. 27, "Athens under Peisistratus and his Sons" (11).
Grote, Part II., Ch. 11, "Solonian Laws and Constitution" (11).
Cox, Greek Statesmen, "Solon," "Peisistratos," "Kleisthenes" (26).
Plutarch, "Solon" (13).
Aristotle, Athenian Constitution, Chs. 3–21 (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Constitution of Clisthenes. — Oman, Ch. 16 (10); Cox, Ch. 12 (10); Abbott, Ch. 15 (11); Bury, pp. 211–215 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 15 (10); Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 401–411 (11); Grote, Part I., Ch. 31 (11); Greenidge, pp. 157–162 (20); Gilbert, pp. 145-152 (20).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.


5
10
15
20
45
40
35
GAUL
EUROPA
CISALPINE GAUL
ILLYRICUM
ADRIATIC SEA
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
LATIUM
CAMPANIA
SAMNIUM
APULIA
MESSAPIA
GRAECIA
EPIRUS
MARE TYRRHENUM
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Massilia
Olbia
CORSICA
Alalia
Rome
SARDINIA
Cumæ
Neapolis
Posidonia
Velia
Tarentum
Sybaris
Thurii
Croton
Corcyra
CORCYRA
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Ambracia
Panormus
Eryx
Lilybæum
Selinus
SICILY
Hiimera
Zancle (Messana)
Locri
Rhegium
Naxos
Catana
Gela
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Carthage
IONIAN SEA
22
24
26
28
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Abdera
Maronea
THASOS
Gulf
Strymonic
Enos
Perinthus
Byzantium
Bosphorus
Chalcedon
Propontis
Methone
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidæa
Pallene
Thermaic Gulf
Torone
Mende
THESSALY
THRACIAN SEA
Sestos
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
Abydos
Hellespont
Sigeum
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Troad
LYDIA
Myrlene
LESBOS
SCYROS
EUBŒA
Chalcis
Eretria
Phocæa
Cyme
Chios
CHIOS
Erythræ
Teos
Colophon
Thebes
G. of Corinth
Sicyon
Megara
Corinth
Athens
Ephesus
SAMOS
COLONIES ON THE NORTHERN ÆGEAN AND PROPONTIS
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 100

25
30
35
40
45
Olbia
Tanais
CHERSONESUS TAURICA
Phanagoria
Heraclea (Chersonesus)
Istrus
R. Danube
EUXINE or BLACK SEA
COLCHIS
Dioscurias
Phasis
Odessus
Mesembria
Apollonia
Sinope
Bosphorus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclea (Pontica)
Trapezus
Halys R.
Propontis
CAPPADOCIA
Cyzicus
Lampsacus
Abydos
Phocæa
Chalcis
Troy
Eretria
Ephesus
Athens
Samos
Miletus
CARIA
LYCIA
PHRYGIA
CILICIA
Euphrates R.
NAXOS
THERA
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Sidon
Tyre
PHŒNICIA
Naucratis
Nile R.
Red Sea
GREATER HELLAS
Sixth Century B.C.
Chief Seats of Colonization.
Ionians
Dorians
Æolians and Achæans
Phœnicians
SCALE OF MILES
50 100 200 300 400
East 25 from Greenwich 30 35
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL GREEK COLONIES

The name of the parent colony is placed in parenthesis, together with the date of settlement when known. These dates can be regarded as only approximate, and are variously given by different authorities ; the dates below are generally those accepted by Grote.

I. Eastern Colonies.

1. *Northern Ægean.*
   - Methone (Eretria, 720 B.C.).
   - Mende (Eretria).
   - Torone (Chalcis).
   - Olynthus (Chalcis, 480 B.C.).
   - Potidæa (Corinth).
   - Abdera (Teos, 553 B.C.).
   - Maronea (Chios).
   - Ænos (Æolia).
2. *Propontis.*
   - Abydos (Miletus).
   - Lampsacus (Miletus, 650 B.C.).
   - Cyzicus (Miletus, 756 B.C.).
   - Chalcedon (Megara, 674 B.C.).
   - Byzantium (Megara, 657 B.C.).
   - Perinthus (Samos, 600 B.C.).
   - Sestos (Æolia).
3. *Euxine or Black Sea.*
   - (*a*) Southern and Eastern Coast.
     - Heraclea (Megara, 560 B.C.).
     - Sinope (Miletus, 770 B.C.).
     - Trapezus (Sinope).
     - Phasis (Miletus).
     - Dioscurias (Miletus).
   - (*b*) Western and Northern Coast.
     - Apollonia (Miletus).
     - Mesembria (Megara).
     - Odessus (Miletus).
     - Istrus (Miletus).
     - Olbia (Miletus).
     - Heraclea (Heraclea Pontica).
     - Tanais (Miletus ?).
     - Phanagoria (Miletus).
4. *Africa.*
   - Naucratis (Miletus, 650 B.C.).
   - Cyrene (Thera).
   - Barca (Cyrene).

II. Western Colonies.

1. *Adriatic Coast.*
   - Corcyra (Corinth, 730 B.C.).
   - Ambracia (Corinth, 650 B.C.).
   - Apollonia (Corinth, 600 B.C.).
   - Epidamnus (Corcyra, 625 B.C.).
2. *Italy.*
   - (*a*) Southern Coast.
     - Tarentum (Sparta, 707 B.C.).
     - Sybaris (Achaia, 720 B.C.).
     - Croton (Achaia, 710 B.C.).
     - Locri (Locris, 683 B.C.).
     - Rhegium (Chalcis, 720 B.C.).
   - (*b*) Western Coast.
     - Cumæ (Chalcis, 1050 B.C. ?).
     - Neapolis (Cumæ).
     - Posidonia (Achaia).
     - Velia (Phocæa, 550 B.C.).
3. *Sicily.*
   - (*a*) Ionian Colonies.
     - Naxos (Chalcis, 735 B.C.).
     - Catana (Naxos, 729 B.C.).
     - Zancle (Chalcis, 728 B.C.).
     - Himera (Zancle, 648 B.C.).
   - (*b*) Dorian Colonies.
     - Syracuse (Corinth, 734 B.C.).
     - Gela (Rhodes, 690 B.C.).
     - Agrigentum (Gela, 582 B.C.).
     - Selinus (Megara, 630 B.C.).
4. *Gaul.*
   - Massilia (Phocæa, 597 B.C.).
   - Olbia (Massilia).

CHAPTER XI

THE EXPANSION OF GREECE — THE COLONIES

I. The Extension of Hellas

The Hellenic World. — We look upon Sparta and Athens as the two most important cities of Greece; but we must not lose sight of the fact that the Hellenic world extended far beyond the boundaries of these two states. There were many other cities which passed through a similar political experience. Some of them, like Sparta, formed aristocratic governments. Others, like Athens, worked their way toward democratic institutions. The most important of the aristocratic cities, or oligarchies, were Thebes in Bœotia, Chalcis and Ere'tria on the island of Eubœa, and also Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon, on or near the isthmus of Corinth. The most important of the democratic cities, after Athens, were Argos and Elis. Moreover, these political movements were not confined to Greece proper, that is, to European Hellas; they extended to that part of Hellas lying upon the Asiatic coasts. Here, in the presence of Oriental monarchies, the Greek spirit of freedom showed itself in political agitations and revolutions. The whole Hellenic world seemed imbued with a common Hellenic spirit — the spirit of liberty and of local independence.

Colonial Expansion. — At the same time that the cities of Hellas, both in Europe and in Asia, were working out the problem of free government, the boundaries of the Hellenic world were widening by the establishment of colonies. The causes leading to the colonial expansion of Greece were various. In the first place, the growth of population required the formation of new settlements; and these could be formed only in the unoccupied lands which bordered upon the adjoining seas. In

the next place, the political discontent resulting from aristocratic oppression led many people to seek a refuge in new lands. In their new settlements they hoped to find more freedom than they had possessed at home. Hence, we find a large number of colonies established by cities subject to aristocratic rule. Finally, the growing spirit of commerce furnished a strong impulse to colonization. The coasts of the Ægean were indented with natural harbors; and the Greeks early shared with the Phœnicians the spirit of commerce and the trade routes of the sea. With the decline of the Phœnician power, the Greeks became the leading commercial people of the East. Like the Phœnicians, they dotted the shores of the Mediterranean with their trading posts. Greece thus became the mother of colonies, and from the eighth to the sixth century (750–550 B.C.), the territory of Hellas was continually growing wider and wider.

Character of the Greek Colony. — The Greek colony was a community of Greek citizens transported to a new land. It was generally the offshoot of a single city, although one colony might sometimes be formed by the people of different cities. The Greek colony carried with it the traditions, the customs, the language, and the religion of the parent city. Wherever it might be planted, it continued to bear the blossoms and fruits of Greek culture. The founding of a colony was a matter of so much importance that it was customary to consult the oracle at Delphi to ascertain whether the undertaking would meet with the divine sanction. If the response was favorable, a "founder" was appointed to lead the colonists to their new home. The sacred fire taken from the altar of the parent city was carried with the colonists as a symbol of their filial devotion. The infant colony worshiped the same gods as the parent city; and in every way showed the sacred reverence due from a daughter to a mother. But in its political life the colony was entirely independent of the parent state. Though bound by filial affection, it was not subject to parental authority. It formed its own government, made its own laws, and

was expected to work out its own destiny.[1] The colonies thus became new centers of Greek life.

The Colonizing Cities. — The cities of Greece were not equally zealous in the planting of colonies. Of the chief cities, Athens was one of the least conspicuous in this movement. This may have been due to the fact that she was at first more devoted to politics than to commerce, or to the fact that her subjects were less discontented than elsewhere. Sparta, on account of her distance from the sea, was also not important as a colonizing state. But her subjects — especially the Messenians — were sometimes driven by her oppressive government to seek a refuge beyond her dominion. Of the cities of Greece proper the foremost in the colonizing movement were Chalcis and Eretria, situated on the island of Eubœa; and of these two cities Chalcis was the leader. This city had a favorable seaboard; it had an extensive trade with the East; and its aristocratic government was a cause of popular discontent. These facts are sufficient to explain its colonizing spirit. Next after Chalcis and Eretria should be mentioned Megara and Corinth, both of which were favorably situated for commerce, and were often misruled by an oppressive oligarchy. But the city which surpassed all others as a colonizing center was situated not in Europe, but in Asia. This was Miletus, the most celebrated city of Ionia. It possessed four large harbors, and seems to have fallen heir to the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians. Miletus is said to have been the mother of eighty colonies. Other, less important, colonizing cities of Ionia were Phocæa, Teos, and

Coin of Eretria

[1] This statement does not apply to the subject colonies, or "cleruchies," sent out by Athens as a means of maintaining her influence in a foreign land. In this case the settlers retained their political relations and rights as members of the parent state.

Samos. A few colonies were established by the Æolian cities of the north, and a still less number by the Dorian cities of the south of Asia Minor. (See maps, pages 80 and 136, 137.)

Areas of Colonization. — The lands open to Greek colonization were the unoccupied coasts of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Some of these lands had already been held by Phœnician colonists; but the decline of Phœnicia gave an opportunity to the Greeks, either to take possession of the old Phœnician sites, or to establish new settlements. The new lands were generally inhabited by a barbarous people; but the native products of these lands afforded a strong inducement to Grecian traders. There were two general areas open to colonization, which we may distinguish as the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern area comprised the northern coasts of the Ægean Sea; the shores of the Propon'tis with its tributary straits, the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; the extensive coast of the Euxine or Black Sea; and also the northeastern coast of Africa. The Western area comprised the western coasts of Illyr'icum and Epirus; the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily; and the seaboards of the western Mediterranean, including southern Gaul, and extending along the shores of Spain.

II. The Eastern Colonies of Hellas

Colonies of the Northern Ægean. — If we desired to make a journey to the various Greek colonies,[1] we should naturally set out from the island of Eubœa and coast along the northern shores of the Ægean. The most important part of this coast is Chalcid'ice, — a three-pronged peninsula jutting far out into the sea, — which took its name from Chalcis in Eubœa. On this peninsula we should find more than thirty towns settled by Chalcis and Eretria, among which are Mende,

[1] In studying the geography of the Greek colonies the student is not expected to remember the names of all these colonies, but to trace on the map (pp. 136, 137) their location. By such a map exercise he will obtain some definite idea of the various lands occupied by the different branches of the Greek people.

Olyn'thus, and Toro'ne. The only important city of Dorian origin was Potidæ'a, founded by Corinth. As we proceed farther to the east, we come to certain cities founded by the Asiatic Ionians; for example, Abde'ra, founded by Teos, and Marone'a by Chios. Beyond these are the two chief towns settled by the Æolians of Asia Minor, namely, Ænos on the Thracian Sea, and Sestos on the Hellespont. The chief sources of wealth on these northern coasts were the rich deposits of gold, silver, and copper, and the valuable timber gathered from the forests and used for shipbuilding.

Colonies on the Propontis. — As we sail through the Hellespont into the Propontis, we pass several Ionian cities — Aby'dos, Lamp'sacus, and Cyz'icus — founded by Miletus. The Ionians not only made extensive settlements on the southern coast of the Propontis; they also established stations on the northern coast, like that of Perin'thus, founded by the people of Samos. But the Ionians were not the only people who found their way into this little inland sea. The Dorian people of Megara established the city of Chalce'don on the southern shore of the Bosphorus, or the strait leading into the Euxine. The earlier colonists evidently had shut their eyes to the great advantages of the opposite shore; for the Delphic oracle is said to have advised the later colonists of Megara to "build opposite the city of the blind." The Megarians thus obtained the honor of founding the most important emporium of the East, the colony of Byzan'tium — which afterward became the city of Constantinople.

Colonies on the Euxine or Black Sea. — On passing through the Bosphorus we enter the great expanse of the Euxine, or the Black Sea. On account of its forbidding shores this sea was at first known to the Greeks as the *Axei'nos* (inhospitable); but when its coasts had become covered with Greek colonies and made attractive to the stranger, it was called the *Euxei'nos* (hospitable). It was on the shores of this sea that the Ionian city of Miletus, following in the track of Phœnician merchants, established the largest part of her colonies.

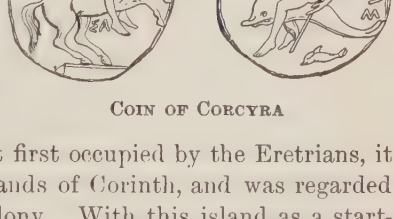
Early in the eighth century (770 B.C.) she planted her first colony at Sino'pe on a projecting headland of Asia Minor. Farther east arose the flourishing town of Trape'zus (Trebizond), which soon became an important emporium. At the eastern extremity of the sea, in the fabled land of Colchis, were established other trading posts, like Phasis and Dioscu'rias. Turning back to the Bosphorus once more, let us follow along the western and northern coasts of the Euxine, among the barbarous Thracians and Scythians. Here the colonizing movement was slower. But along these coasts the merchants of Miletus had opened ports at Apollo'nia, Odes'sus, Istrus, and other places between the Bosphorus and the Danube. Beyond the Danube to the north were erected outlying stations, like Ol'bia, Phanagori'a, and Tan'ais, the last-mentioned place being the remotest frontier of Greek civilization. The advantages gained by the Ionian city of Miletus by planting so many colonies in the Black Sea spurred her Dorian rival, the city of Megara, to make similar efforts. As a result, Megarian settlements were established in the places left vacant by Miletus — such as Mesem'bria on the western coast and Heracle'a (Pontica) on the southern coast, from which a town of the same name was settled on the opposite shore in the Chersone'sus Tau'rica (Crimea). From this great region of the Black Sea, the Greeks were supplied with many valuable commodities. Its mines, its fisheries, its cattle, its timber, its fields of grain, besides its supply of slaves, contributed to the wealth of the merchants and to the industrial development of the Greek people.

Colonies in Africa. — As we leave the shores of the Ægean and the Euxine and pass to the south, we find new evidences of commercial enterprise. The northern shores of Africa were for the most part held by Carthage and Egypt. Carthage, a colony of Tyre, was building up a commercial empire of its own. But Egypt for a long time took little interest in foreign trade; and the country was closed to the merchants of other lands. It was due to the enterprising spirit of Miletus, as well

as to the exceptionally liberal policy of the Egyptian king Psammetichus, that the Nile was opened to Greek traders. On the Delta of this river was established the commercial station Nau'cratis. This station finally grew into an extensive Greek settlement, from which Egyptian commodities, as well as Egyptian ideas, flowed into Hellas. To the west of the Nile the inhabitants of the little island of Thera formed a colony at Cyre'ne, which itself became a colonizing center, planting settlements at Barca and other places along the coast.

III. The Western Colonies of Hellas

Colonies in Epirus and Illyricum. — In making a tour of the western colonies one would set sail from Corinth, pass through the Gulf of Corinth, and visit first the settlements planted by the Corinthians on the shores of Epirus and Illyricum. Here one would land at Corcy'ra, the most important island of the Ionian Sea.



Coin of Corcyra

Although this island was at first occupied by the Eretrians, it afterward passed into the hands of Corinth, and was regarded as properly a Corinthian colony. With this island as a starting point, the Corinthians took possession of the adjoining coasts, and settled colonies at Ambra'cia, Apollonia, and many other places. Far to the north, Corcyra planted a colony of its own at Epidam'nus on the coast of Illyricum. But the island of Corcyra was not only a colonizing center for northwestern Greece; it was from very early times a sort of halfway station between Greece and Italy.

Colonies in Italy; Magna Græcia. — On crossing the Ionian Sea, we first touch the heel of Italy, the ancient country of Iapyg'ia; and here we enter into a new area of Greek colonization. When the Greeks first settled in Italy, the country

was inhabited by a barbarous people. Southern Italy thus furnished a suitable field for Greek emigrants. It became a sort of overflow for the surplus population and discontented people of the home lands. If we coast along the southern shores of Italy, we first come to the important colony of Taren'tum, founded by refugees from Sparta, and situated upon the best harbor of the peninsula. We then pass Syb'aris and Croton, settled by the overflowing population of Achaia; and Locri, whose inhabitants had left their home in Locris as the result of civil discord. In passing through the Sicilian Straits, we see to the right the important town of Rhe'gium, with its mixed population of Chalcidians from Eubœa and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. On the western coast of Italy to the north we find three important colonial centers: first, Ve'lia (or E'lea) settled by the people of Phocæa from Asia Minor; next, the celebrated city of Posido'nia (Pæstum), named from the god of the sea, and settled by an Achæan people; finally, to the north, Cumæ, whose origin is lost in antiquity, but which was probably founded by the Chalcidians, and from which sprang up the neighboring town of Neap'olis (the new city). Southern Italy thus furnished many new homes for the Greek people; and so thoroughly was it Hellenized that it received the name of Magna Græcia.

Colonies in Sicily.—Perhaps more important than the colonies in Italy were those established on the coasts of Sicily. Like Italy this island was for the most part inhabited by barbarous people, although the Carthaginians were already encroaching upon the eastern extremity. We find in Sicily two groups of colonies: the one Ionian toward the north, and the other Dorian toward the south. The center of the Ionian group was Naxos, founded by that enter-

Coin of the Carthaginians in Sicily

prising people whom we have so often met before, the Chalcidians, and who were here joined by the inhabitants of the island of Naxos in the Ægean. From Naxos in Sicily was settled the neighboring town of Cat'ana. The Chalcidians strengthened their position on the Sicilian straits by building the city of Zancle (Messa'na) on the shore opposite Rhegium. This city also became a refuge for the Messenians, who shrank from the rule of Sparta, and from whom the city derived its later name. The influence of Zancle was paramount along the northern coast, where it founded new towns, like Him'era. Turning to the south, the center of the Dorian group of colonies was Syr'acuse. This city was the strongest and most celebrated of all the cities of the island. It was founded by Corinth, and became an important factor in the later struggle between the Dorian and Ionian states of Greece. Under the shadow of Syracuse the Dorian people from the far-off island of Rhodes formed a settlement at Gela, which in turn sent out a colony to Agrigen'tum. The farthest outpost on the southwestern coast was Seli'nus, planted by Megara. The greater part of Sicily, like southern Italy, thus became Greek in its population, in its political institutions, and in its civilization.

Coin of Syracuse

Colonies in Gaul and Spain. — It remains for us to notice the outlying colonies in the western Mediterranean. The most hardy of all the Greek mariners were probably the Phocæans of Asia Minor. They braved the dangers of the deep and the hatred of the Carthaginians, and succeeded in opening a trade route to the coasts of Spain. As an intermediate station they built the city of Massil'ia (Marseilles), which became an important colonizing center. To the east and to the west trading posts were established which gave to the Phocæans the com-

mand of this region. But with the exception of Massilia these distant ports became merely trading stations, and to a limited extent only the centers of Greek culture. In Spain were a few Greek colonies, but the Hellenic influence never became strong on these distant coasts.

The effect of the establishment of these colonies was to give to the Greeks the command of the Mediterranean Sea, and to make its coasts a part of the Hellenic world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 12, "History of the Greek Colonies" (10).[1]
Bury, Ch. 2, "The Expansion of Greece" (10).
Oman, Ch. 9, "The Age of Colonization" (10).
Cox, Ch. 8, "Hellas Sporadikê" (10).
Timayenis, Vol. I., Part II., Ch. 5, "The Hellenic Colonies" (11).
Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 11, "The Greek Colonies" (11).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 21, "Greek Colonization" (11).
Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 3, "The Hellenes beyond the Archipelago" (11).
Greenidge, Ch. 3, "Colonization" (20).

SPECIAL STUDY

Greek Commerce and Marine.—Bury, pp. 109, 110 (10); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 543–546 (11); Guhl and Koner, pp. 253–264 (22); Blümner, pp. 481–488 (22); Becker, pp. 277–292 (22); Harper's Class. Dict., "Navis" (18); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Ships" (18).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XII

THE CULTURE OF THE EARLY GREEK STATES

I. The Religious Culture of the Greeks

General Character of Greek Culture. — We have now learned something of the most important cities of Greece and of the various colonies scattered over the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Euxine. From the fact that these cities and colonies were almost entirely independent of one another, we might conclude that they had no bond of union and no common life. But this would be a mistake. There were many things which gave to the Greeks a common national life. The various cities, independent as they were, all seemed working toward a common political end — the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of freer institutions. The colonies, also, though scattered and isolated, were inspired by a common commercial spirit. But that which more than anything else made the Greeks one people, and that which gives to them a special interest to us to-day, was their superior type of culture — a culture which distinguished them from all other peoples. Although deriving many of their ideas from the East, they gave to these ideas a new stamp, and developed a form of civilization distinctively their own. If we should try to characterize this type of culture, we might call it, for the want of a better word, *humanistic* — that is, based upon human nature and pervaded by a human spirit. The Greeks believed in the dignity of man. They sought to attain a symmetrical human development in accordance with human reason.

Religion as a Bond of Union. — In considering the early phases of Greek culture we may regard religion as the first and the most fundamental. Religion was the strongest bond of

union between the different elements of Greek society, and also between the different branches of the Greek race. We have already seen how the early family, the gens, the phratry, the tribe, and the state, were each bound together by a common worship. So, too, the Achæans, the Æolians, the Dorians, and the Ionians, wherever they might live, all worshiped the same gods. However much they might be embittered by mutual jealousies and by wars, they found in their religion a common bond of sympathy.

The Delphic Oracle. — One of the most important centers of the religious and national life of the Greeks was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, situated in Phocis at the foot of Mt. Parnassus. The Greeks looked upon Apollo as preëminently the god of revelation, the god of light, of inspiration, and of prophecy. He had many oracles, but no others so renowned as that at Delphi. Here, according to tradition, he had killed the serpent Python. Here was his most illustrious temple, rich with costly gifts bestowed by his worshipers. Here his breath was supposed to issue from a cleft in the rock, over which stood a tripod — the seat of the Pyth'ia, or priestess, who uttered his will. The inspired words of the Pythia were taken down by the attendant priests, and delivered to the people. The oracle was consulted by private persons and by the envoys of cities from every part of Hellas. Answers were given to questions relating to religion and politics, to national disputes, to wars, and to colonization. Although these answers often had a double meaning and were difficult to interpret, still the Delphic priests were able by means of this sacred oracle to exercise a great and generally a beneficial influence upon the Greek people.

The Amphictyonic League. — The influence of the Greek religion, as a bond of union, is also seen in the associations of cities called Amphic'tyonies. They were leagues of several cities or tribes, bound together under the guardianship of some god and for the protection of his worship. The most important of these was the famous Amphictyon'ic League,

organized for the protection of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. It was made up of twelve states of central and northern Greece, which sent to Delphi a number of delegates forming a council. Although religious in its origin, it also had a political influence in binding the cities together under a kind of legal code. The cities were bound, not only to protect the temple of the god, but to respect one another's rights in time of war — not to cut off the running water which supplied a city, and not to destroy any Amphictyonic town. Such restrictions brought a humane element into the conduct of war, and was a step in the growth of international law.

The Panhellenic Games. — The religious institutions which perhaps more than all others tended to promote a national unity and a national type of culture, were the great public games. These were celebrated in honor of the gods; and they show how closely religion was connected with all the phases of human life, — with art and literature, and even with athletic sports. Chief among these games were those held every four years at Olympia in Elis. The physical contests consisted in running, jumping, throwing the discus or quoit, casting the javelin, wrestling, boxing, and sometimes in chariot racing. These games were not barbarous sports, but were subject to strict rules, intended to promote the restraints of discipline and the sense of honor. The competitor must be a Greek of good character, well trained and unblemished by any physical or moral taint. The reward of the victor was a wreath of olive leaves. He was made the object of special honors; the Olympiad, or the succeeding period of four years, received his name, and his statue was carved by a distinguished artist and set up for public admiration. The games also furnished a field for intellectual culture. Here poets recited their verses; painters displayed their pictures; and men of science explained their discoveries. Olympia became adorned with noble buildings — especially the temple of Zeus. The multitude which gathered here from every part of Hellas carried back to their homes the feeling of a common kinship, and the love of Greek ideals.

Buildings and Environs of Olympia (Restoration)

Other, less noted, games were the Pythian, given in honor of Apollo near his shrine at Delphi; the Ne'mean, in honor of Zeus at Nemea in Argolis; and the Isthmian, in honor of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth. These four Panhellenic games were among the most important features in the Greek national life. In them we see "all the Greeks united in the common practice of their religion, and in the common observance of their customs, pursuing the same aims of physical and intellectual improvement, and at peace with one another for at least a small part of the year, even though war might be raging among the various states" (Holm).

Special Religious Festivals. — Besides these general celebrations which belonged to the whole of Greece, there were special festivals which were more local in their character. These were holiday entertainments given in honor of certain deities, and for the sake of social recreation. They consisted of processions, singing, dancing, games, and other diversions in which the people took a part. There were a number of these festivals in Attica. The most important of them were: the Panathenæ'a, given in honor of Athena; the Dionys'ia, in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus; and the Eleusin'ia, in honor of the goddess Demeter. The last-named festival was of peculiar interest, especially to those who had been initiated into the secret rites of this worship. It consisted of a solemn procession in which every one might take part, from Athens by the "sacred way" to the city of Eleusis, the seat of the mysterious worship of the goddess. The secret ceremonies and doctrines attending this worship were called the "Eleusinian mysteries," of which no one was supposed to have any knowledge except the initiated.

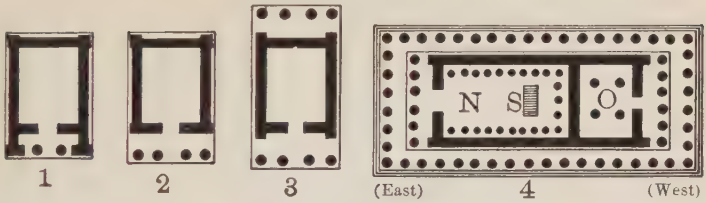
PANATHENAIC VASE
(6th century B.C.)

II. The Beginnings of Greek Art

Character and Sources of Greek Art. — The art of Greece, like that of the Orient, was closely related to religion. But Greek art was as different from Oriental art as the Greek religion was different from the Oriental religion. The gods of Babylon, who dwelt among the stars, could be approached only by lofty temples, towering toward the sky. The grim religion of Egypt produced imposing structures which were gigantic and awe-inspiring. But the Greek religion appealed more strongly to human sympathy and revealed a finer sense of beauty. It produced an art which showed the marks of taste and reason, of moderation, of symmetry, and proper proportion. Some of the early features of Greek art were no doubt derived from the East; but its distinctive character was due to the refined taste of the Greeks themselves. That which we most admire in a Greek temple or a Greek statue is that combination of artistic qualities — simplicity of design, grace of form, symmetry of structure, and sincerity of expression — which we can find in no earlier people.

The Greek Temple. — For the highest expression of Greek art we must look to the temple. During the historical period we find in Greece no royal palaces, like those in Assyria or Egypt, or even like those previously built on Greek soil at Tiryns and Mycenæ. The reverence for royalty passed away with the growth of political freedom; and so the architectural skill and taste of the Greeks were devoted almost entirely to the service of the gods. In every city the temple was the most beautiful and conspicuous object.

In its design the Greek temple was a simple roof supported by columns and covering a space inclosed by four walls. It is supposed that this design grew out of the form of a dwelling house, made of wood, with a front porch. At first the building had two columns in front (*in antis*), and then four columns (*pro'style*); afterward it had also four columns in the rear (*amphip'rostyle*), and finally the whole building was

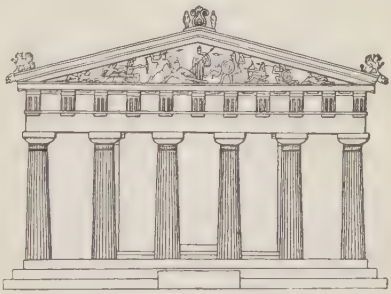


TYPES OF THE GREEK TEMPLE

1, in antis; 2, prostyle; 3, amphiprostyle; 4, peristyle (the Parthenon); N, naos; O, opisthodomus; S, statue

surrounded entirely by a colonnade (*per'istyle*). The inclosed space in the largest temples generally consisted of a principal part (*na'os* or *cella*), in which was placed the statue of the deity, and a rear part (*opisthod'omus*), which contained the treasures of the temple. The architectural style of the building was indicated chiefly by the columns and capitals which supported the roof.

The Doric Style. — The earliest Greek style of architecture was the Doric, which is supposed to have had its origin among the Dorian people of the Peloponnesus. One of the best specimens of this order was the temple of Athena on the island of Ægi'na. By looking at the parts of this building we may get an idea of the structural features of the Doric style. The building rests upon a stone foundation (*crepido'ma*), built in the form of steps, supporting the columns. The column consists of two parts: first, the shaft, grooved with perpendicular flutings and having a perceptible swelling (*en'tasis*) in the center; and second, the capital, made up of a circular band (*echi'nus*) surmounted by a square block (*ab'acus*). Upon the column



WEST FRONT OF TEMPLE AT ÆGINA

GREEK DORIC STYLE

1, shaft; 2, echinus; 3, abacus; 4, architrave; 5, tænia; 6, frieze; 7, cornice

was placed the entablature, which consisted of three parts: first, the architrave, presenting a plain surface of stone, above which was a slight projection (*tæ'nia*); then the frieze, made up of a succession of projecting and fluted blocks (*tri'gliphs*) with intervening spaces (*met'opes*); and, finally, the projecting cornice, upon which the roof was supported. Looking at the front, or façade, of the building, we see the triangular space, or gable, between the cornice and the roof, called the pediment; this was often filled with the finest specimens of the sculptor's art. The Doric was the simplest of the Greek styles. It gave the impression of strength and repose and was regarded by the Greeks as masculine in its character.

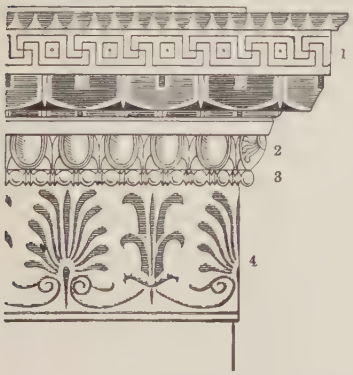
The Ionic Style. — The more refined and feminine style was the Ionic, which may perhaps have had its origin in Ionia. This was not used to a great extent in European Greece until the next period. The most important example during this period was the renowned temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus. We may see the distinguishing features of this order by comparing it with the Doric. The Ionic column has a distinct base with three circular bands. The shaft is more slender than the Doric. The capital is adorned with a spiral roll, or volute, which forms a marked feature of this style. The architrave is divided into three layers of stone; and the frieze is not separated into triglyphs and metopes like the Doric, but consists of a continuous sur-

GREEK IONIC STYLE

face, sometimes decorated with ornamental designs. The Doric and Ionic styles represent the chief phases of early Greek architecture [1] and suggest respectively the stronger and the more refined elements of the Greek character.

Greek Corinthian Style

Architectural Decoration. — One of the essential features of Greek art is seen in the method used in architectural decoration. Indeed, the difference between true art and false art can be most quickly detected in the use of decorative features. The Greeks used color upon their buildings; but the color was employed not to cover up or conceal, but to emphasize the structural features. They used ornamental designs; but these were employed not to draw attention to themselves, but to make more beautiful the whole building. They also adorned their buildings with sculptured figures; these, however, were not obtrusive and pretentious, but subordinate to the main structure, contributing to the general effect, and helping to interpret its real meaning. The Greeks employed a great variety of ornamental designs, such as the fret, the egg and dart, the bead and fillet, and the honeysuckle. The way in which these designs were employed may be seen in the accompanying illustration. Here is no pretense and no decep-



Greek Decoration

1, fret; 2, egg and dart; 3, bead and fillet; 4, honeysuckle

[1] The so-called Corinthian order, which was of later development, "hardly deserves to be called a distinct order. Its only peculiar feature is the capital; otherwise it agrees with the Ionic order" (Tarbell).

tion. The Greeks believed that perfect art is unpretentious and does not tell a lie.

Early Greek Sculpture. — The art of sculpture did not make as rapid progress in this period as did architecture. In fact, most of the examples which are left to us are crude and archaic. We can see the first feeble efforts to break away from the stiff and conventional forms of the East, and to give to stone the features of life. The influence of religion is seen in the early attempts to represent the gods in the form of men; but these attempts are suggestive of idols rather than statues. The credit of giving to statues a more lifelike appearance is ascribed to the mythical Dæd'alus, who was said to be a native of Athens. Schools of sculpture grew up in the cities of Asiatic Greece, Samos, and Chios; in European Greece, at Argos, Ægina, and Athens; and in Sicily, especially at Selinus. We have preserved to us some of the sculptured reliefs from the metopes of the temple at Selinus. These consist of small groups of figures representing mythological scenes, and are carved in a very rude fashion. But they are interesting, as they show the early way in which sculpture was used for temple decoration. Among the strongest influences which led to the improvement of sculpture during this time were the encouragement given to physical training and the custom of erecting at Olympia statues to successful athletes. But it is not until the close of this period that we see the sculpture beginning to acquire some of those artistic qualities which we have noticed in the architecture.

III. The Greek Language and Early Literature

The Greek Language. — Another strong bond which united the various branches of the Greek people was their language. This gave them a common means of communication, and like their religion it preserved among them the feeling of kinship. We may see its written form in this line of the Iliad:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

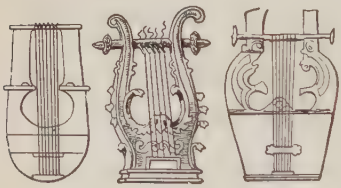
Although a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-European family, the Greek early surpassed the other languages of this group as an instrument of thought and expression. Nothing, not even the Greek religion or the Greek art, reflects more strongly the characteristic features of the Greek mind — its freedom, its versatility, its refinement, its wonderful æsthetic and intellectual resources. By means of this remarkable language the Greeks produced a literature which has given them a high place among the most civilized peoples of the world. We can here take only a hasty glance at the growth of the literature during this formative period.

Decline of Epic Poetry. — At the beginning of the period the Greeks already possessed the "poems of Homer." These epics were the richest inheritance that they had received from the prehistoric age — of greater value than all the treasures of Mycenæ. These poems pictured in matchless verse the glories of the past, and recounted the deeds of gods and heroes. The epic was thus the poetry of action, and as such the Homeric epic could not be equaled. It was feebly imitated by a class of poets called the Homer'idæ, who still sang of the legends of Troy and of mythical heroes. A new and lower kind of epic was introduced by He'siod, who is said to have been a native of Bœotia. This kind of epic was less heroic and more didactic in its character; that is, written for purposes of instruction. The "Theog'ony" of Hesiod is a sort of theological treatise containing a description of the gods and the mythology of the ancient Greeks. The "Works and Days" is a poem of common life, describing the labors of the farmer and interspersed with wholesome moral advice.

Transition to Lyric Poetry. — With the decline of the epic, or the poetry of action, there arose a new kind of poetry more closely related to human thoughts and feelings. This is shown in what are called the elegiac, the iambic, and finally the lyric verse. The elegiac and the iambic poetry, like the older epic, made their first appearance among the Ionians. The elegy was composed of alternating lines of different lengths, the one

of six feet (hexameter), the next of five feet (pentameter). It was accompanied by the music of the flute, and was serious in its character, sometimes used to express feelings of sadness, and sometimes patriotic in its appeals. The chief elegiac poets were Calli'nus of Ephesus, and Tyrtæ'us of Athens. It is said that Tyrtæus was sent to Sparta during the Messenian wars to inspire the Spartan soldiers with a heroic spirit. The iambic poetry, differing from the elegy, was the poetry of wit and satire, and devoted to raillery and invective. Its chief representative was Archil'ochus, a native of the island of Paros. These two forms of poetry — the elegiac and the iambic — prepared the way for the higher and more cultivated form of the lyric.

The Æolian Lyric Poetry. — The influence of music upon poetry may be seen in the growth of the lyre, an instrument which the Greeks regarded as especially their own. To the earlier four-stringed lyre, or cithara, which had formerly been used to accompany the voice, other strings were added by Terpan'der of Lesbos, giving to it the compass of the octave. This was considered as an epoch in the history of music. It not only increased the capacity of the instrument, but gave a new inspiration to the singer. The new poetry which arose received its name from the lyre, and it made its first appearance on the Æolian island of Lesbos, the home of Terpander. The chief poets of Æolia were Alcæ'us, who sang of patriotism and war; Sappho, who sang of love; and Ana'creon, who sang of the pleasures of life. Of these Sappho is preëminent. To the Greeks she was "the poetess," as Homer was "the poet." Of the few fragments which remain to us, modern critics can hardly express their admiration. Says one, "Of all the illustrious artists of all literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a



GREEK LYRES

peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute perfection and inimitable grace" (Symonds).

The Dorian Lyric Poetry. — Another form of lyric poetry was cultivated by the Dorians. Their poems were not so personal as the Æolian songs, which were intended for a single voice; they were more public in their nature, and intended to be sung by a number of voices. They comprised hymns, or choruses, for the public worship of the gods, and songs to be sung at public festivals. The chorus, accompanied by dances or processional marches, was not a new thing in Greece. But it came to have a new character, and was reduced to a regular form under the influence of three poets — Alcman, Stesich'orus, and Ari'on. Alcman regulated the rhythmic movement of the persons singing the chorus. The movement of the singers from right to left before the altar, and the part of the hymn, or ode, sung during this movement, were called the "strophe"; the movement from left to right, and the corresponding part of the hymn, were called the "antis'trophe." Stesichorus added an after-part, sung after these movements were completed, by the chorus when standing still, and called the "ep'ode." Arion is said to have given a special form to the chorus in the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. The chorus of fifty singers was arranged about the altar in the form of a circle, and the hymns were accompanied with dancing, gestures, and mimetic features. This choral hymn was known as the "dith'yramb," and from it sprang the later drama.

IV. Early Greek Philosophy

The Beginnings of Philosophy. — Another phase of Greek culture, quite as important, perhaps, as those already mentioned, is seen in the growth of philosophical thought. We begin to see something like philosophy in the sayings of the "Seven Wise Men," among whom were numbered Tha'les and Solon. These men put into pithy form practical maxims for the guidance of life. Some of these maxims were inscribed upon

the temple of Apollo at Delphi; for example, "Know thyself." "Do nothing in excess." Other sayings ascribed to the wise men were these: "The greatest blessing is the power to do good." "Pardon is better than punishment." "The most difficult things are to keep a secret, to forgive injuries, and to improve one's time." Besides these words of wise men, the growth of science also prepared the way for philosophy. Mathematics and astronomy were among the earliest of these sciences. When men began to learn that the movement of the heavenly bodies is controlled by certain fixed laws, and not by the whim of the gods, they began to lose faith in the old mythology, and to seek for some explanation of things more in accordance with reason. Philosophy thus tended to purify the old religion.

The Early Ionic Philosophy. — Like other forms of Greek culture, philosophy had its origin in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. Here the Greeks came into contact with the scientific notions of the Assyrians and Egyptians, which furnished a kind of starting point for Greek philosophy. The Ionic philosophers were students of physical science, of the laws of the material world; hence their philosophy was what might be called a physical, or materialistic, philosophy. As they studied the various and changing forms of matter, they were led to believe that there must be some primitive form of matter from which all other forms are derived. There are three men who mark the progress of this kind of thinking — Thales, Anaxim'ines, and Anaximan'der.

Thales was a mathematician and astronomer. He traveled in many lands, and is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of their pyramids by means of the shadows. As he studied the world, and saw that it is everywhere encircled by the ocean, that the land arises from the abyss of the sea, that everything is tinctured with moisture, that even the seeds grow only under its influence, he was led to believe that *water*, in some form or other, is the primitive matter from which everything else proceeds.

Anaximines, however, saw that the world, with its lands and waters alike, is surrounded by the all-embracing air; that even where there is no water there is air; that air is the breath of life, and that without it all beings cease to exist. He, therefore, concluded that *air* is the primitive substance.

But Anaximander saw that all the kinds of matter which we know anything about are continually changing in their form and qualities; that water, for example, is condensed from vapor, and that vapor must have come from something more primitive — in fact, that everything must have come from some unknown original substance different from anything which we see. This primitive chaotic matter, from which he believed everything was evolved, he called the *infinite* substance.

The Philosophy of Pythagoras. — A new school of philosophy was founded by Pythag'oras, who was a native of Samos, an Ionian city of Asia Minor. He is said to have traveled in Egypt, and perhaps in Phœnicia and in Babylon, and to have absorbed the wisdom of these countries. At any rate, he was called the most learned man of his time. He finally settled at Croton in southern Italy, where his philosophy exercised a great influence in Magna Græcia. Pythagoras was first of all a mathematician; and he looked at everything through mathematical eyes. He saw that everything possesses number, either one or many; and hence he reasoned that *number* is the principle of everything. We can not of course indicate the method of his reasoning, or the various ways in which he applied his principles. It is enough for us at present to remember that he was the mathematical philosopher. He was also a religious and moral teacher and organized a secret fraternity, the purpose of which was to cultivate the highest virtue among its members.

The Eleatic Philosophy. — Another school of philosophy arose in Elea (Velia), on the western coast of Italy, called the Eleatic school. This was also connected, like the others, with Ionia in Asia Minor; since its founder, whose name was Xenoph'anes, originally came from the Ionian city of Colophon. This

philosopher embodied his ideas in a poem "On Nature." As he looked at the world, he saw that *all* things are parts of *one* complete and harmonious whole; and hence to express his idea in a brief form he used this phrase, "The All is One." He also affirmed that the one universal principle which comprehends and controls everything else, is God. Aristotle says that "he looked up to heaven and pronounced the One to be God." This idea was entirely opposed to the old mythological idea of the gods contained in Homer and Hesiod, and shows that the philosophy of the Greeks was tending to elevate and purify the old religious ideas.

We can thus see, in the Greek art and literature and philosophy, evidences of the growing refinement, versatility, and power of the Greek mind, which was gradually expressing itself in a distinctive Hellenic culture, different from that of any other ancient people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 3, "First Two Centuries of Historic Development" (10).[1]
Cox, Ch. 7, "Intellectual Education of the Greeks" (10).
Smith, Ch. 13, "History of Literature"; Ch. 13, "History of Art" (10).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 24, "Growth of Greek Philosophy, Literature and Art in Asia Minor" (11).
Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. II., Ch. 4, "The Unity of Greece" (11).
Symonds, Greek Poets, Ch. 1, "Periods of Greek Literature" (23).
Zeller, First Period, Part I., "The Three Earliest Schools" (24).
Collignon, Bk. I., "Origin of Greek Art" (19).
Tarbell, Ch. 3, "Greek Architecture" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Greek Festivals and Games. — Smith, Ch. 6 (10); Cox, pp. 47–50 (10); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 19 (11); Guhl and Koner, pp. 199–231 (22); Gulick, pp. 91–105, 306–308 (22); Blümner, Chs. 8, 11 (22); Harper's Class. Dict. (see names of different games and festivals).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE ATHENIAN ASCENDENCY

PERIOD III. THE PERSIAN WARS; GROWING POWER OF ATHENS (500-479 B.C.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE EAST UPON THE WEST

I. The Lydian Conquest of Asia Minor

Character of the New Period. — We now approach the period which is, in many respects, the most eventful and heroic in the whole course of Greek history. The Greeks had already become an active, enterprising, and cultivated people. Their influence was beginning to be felt on nearly every shore of the Mediterranean — not only in European Greece and Asia Minor, but also on the Propontis and the Euxine, in Italy and Sicily, and even on the coasts of Africa, Gaul, and Spain. They had everywhere broken down their old monarchies, and had established freer institutions. They were also laying the foundations of a broader and more liberal culture. They had, in short, come to be the representatives of a new and higher civilization. But now came a great crisis in their history, when they were called upon to defend their very existence. Their cities, their colonies, their commerce, their free institutions, and their new culture, were all threatened with destruction

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 5.

by the great powers of the East. During this time we shall see a struggle between the East and the West which was to decide whether Greek civilization was to survive, or whether Europe was to fall under Asiatic dominion. As we follow this conflict we shall see not only the triumph of Europe over Asia, but also how Athens came to be the principal center of Greek life and influence.

Position of the Asiatic Cities. — The chief point of contact between the East and the West was the coast of Asia Minor, which was fringed with Greek cities. These cities formed the eastern frontier of the Hellenic world. They were in many respects the pioneers of Greek civilization. They had thus far taken the lead in the cultivation of poetry, art, and philosophy. But, like the cities of Greece, they were politically independent of one another. While they had a common religion and a common culture, they were not inclined to bind themselves together in a common state, and hence they were comparatively weak in the presence of their Oriental neighbors.

Lydia and the Conquest of the Greek Cities (560 B.C.). — Of the four great Oriental powers which were flourishing in the sixth century, — namely, Lydia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, — Lydia was in the closest proximity to the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The kings of Lydia were inspired with the Oriental passion for conquest. Under their king Gyges, the Lydians subdued Magnesia and Colophon; and under Alyat'tes they captured Smyrna and formed alliances with Ephesus and Miletus (see map, page 80). But it was their more renowned king, Crœsus, who completed the conquest of this part of the Greek world. Crœsus adopted, however, a very liberal policy toward his new subjects. While he compelled them to pay tribute, he granted them a certain amount of local freedom, and did not force them to raise troops for his army. The prosperity of the Greek cities was thus not seriously affected by the Lydian conquest; on the contrary, they found in Lydia a protector rather than an oppressor.

II. The Rise and Conquests of Persia

Rise of Persia under Cyrus (558–529 B.C.). — But a power greater than Lydia soon appeared and absorbed all the countries of western Asia. This power was Persia. It was originally a small province situated on the Persian Gulf, and subject to the Median empire. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. its prince, whom we know as Cyrus the Great, revolted from Media, and became the founder of a new world empire. Many stories are told about the birth and early life of this great man; but they are largely mythical, and need not be rehearsed. His chief significance for us is the fact that he created the most powerful empire that the world had yet seen, and established a policy which was destined to bring Asia into conflict with Europe.

Conquest of Lydia and the Asiatic Greeks. — With the overthrow of the Median empire, Cyrus proceeded to extend his kingdom to the West. This required the conquest of Babylonia west of the Tigris, and of Lydia west of the Halys River. Lydia was especially alive to the dangers of Persian aggression. Her energetic king, Crœsus, who had now under his control the Greek cities of Asia Minor, assumed the part of defender of western Asia. He is said to have consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and to have received the response that "if he crossed the Halys, he would destroy a great empire." Not thinking that this might apply to his own empire, as well as to that of Cyrus, he crossed the river, and after an indecisive battle retreated into his own territory. Without delay Cyrus invaded Lydia and captured Sardis. The Greeks then offered to surrender on condition of receiving the same privileges that they had enjoyed under Crœsus. This was refused, and they were rapidly reduced to submission. Asia Minor now became a part of the Persian empire. The Greek cities were obliged to pay tribute, to furnish ships and soldiers, and to submit to the control of a Persian governor.

Conquests in Asia and Africa. — After the conquest of Lydia and the Greek cities, Cyrus turned his attention to his next

great rival, Babylonia. With the fall of Babylon (538 B.C.), this empire also became a part of his dominions. It is to the credit of Cyrus that he permitted the Jews, who had been held in captivity since the days of Nebuchadnezzar (see page 63), to return to their home in Jerusalem. After the death of Cyrus his son, Camby'ses (529–522 B.C.), extended the Persian authority over Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, and even reduced the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca on the African coast. But an army sent into Ethiopia perished in the sands of the desert; and an expedition planned against Carthage failed, because the Phœnician sailors refused to serve against their kinsfolk. The rule of Cambyses was oppressive and often cruel, and was marked by frequent revolts in different parts of the empire.

Conquests in Europe under Darius. — The insurrections which attended the death of Cambyses were quelled by Dari'us, who was, next to Cyrus, the greatest king of Persia. He has a special interest for us, because he was the first to extend the Persian authority into Europe — which fact paved the way for the subsequent invasion of Greece. The purpose of Darius in entering Europe was, according to Herodotus, to send an expedition against the barbarous Scythians. So far as the Scythians were concerned, this expedition proved a failure. But on his return to Asia, Darius left in Europe an army which subdued Thrace and the Greek cities to the north of the Propontis and the Ægean as far west as the river Strymon, and even compelled Macedonia to acknowledge the supremacy of the great king. The Persian empire was thus extended into Europe to the boundary of Thessaly, the northern province of Greece.

III. The Persian Empire and its Civilization

Extent of the Persian Empire. — Before we consider the further attempts of Persia to encroach upon Europe, we may take a brief survey of this great empire and of the civilization which was now brought face to face with that of Greece.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 6.

In its geographical extent Persia surpassed all the previous empires of the East. It not only covered all the lands hitherto occupied by Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Lydia, and Egypt, but added to them other territory not included in these older empires. It extended from the Indus River to the Ægean Sea, a distance of about three thousand miles. It comprised, in fact, the whole civilized world except India and China in the Far East, and Greece and Carthage in the West.

Political Organization of the Empire. — The form of government established over this vast domain was patterned after that of the Assyrians, but strengthened and perfected by the genius of Darius. For purposes of administration the territory was divided into a number of provinces, or satrapies, each under a provincial governor, or satrap, appointed by the king. The provinces were subject to the satraps, and the satraps were subject to the king. The chief duty of the provincial subjects was to furnish men for the royal army, ships for the royal navy, and money for the royal treasury. The provinces were joined to the capital, Susa, by military roads, the most important of which was the great royal road from Susa to Sardis, fifteen hundred miles long. The person of the king was exalted above that of other men. He sat upon a throne made of gold, silver, and ivory. His garments were of richest silk. To serve him was the highest mark of nobility. To minister to his comfort, one dignitary was chosen to carry the royal parasol, another

THE PERSIAN KING

the royal fan, while other officers were appointed to perform other equally honorable duties.

The chief support of the royal authority was the army drawn from the different provinces. When called together, it was marshaled by nations, each with its own costume and subject to royal officers. The footmen were armed with the sword, the spear, and their favorite weapon, the bow, in the use of which they were expert. The cavalry was an important branch of the army, and was very effective when fighting upon an open plain. The choicest part of the Persian army were the "Ten Thousand Immortals," so called because their numbers were perpetually maintained. On the sea the Persians were able to gather from their subjects a large number of ships, mostly triremes armed with iron prows. With such an army and navy the Persians had already conquered Asia, and hoped to conquer Greece.

Persian Art and Literature. — As the Persians were chiefly a conquering and ruling people, they were not distinguished for their intellectual achievements. Whatever art they possessed was mostly a mere reproduction of that of Assyria and Babylon. Their architecture and sculpture showed no evidences of marked originality. While using an Aryan speech, the Persians adopted for writing the wedge-shaped characters of their predecessors. They made no contributions to science; and for many generations they possessed no literature worthy of notice except the "Aves'ta," which was the Persian Bible.

Persian Religion and Morality. — The most distinctive feature of the Persian civilization was its religion. The religion of Persia was doubtless an outgrowth of a lower polytheistic nature worship; but it seems to have reached its highest development under the influence of Zoroas'ter. This religious reformer is supposed to have lived in Bactria about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Some scholars are inclined to believe that his name stands merely for a mythical person; while others strongly assert that "we must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster" (Sayce). He considered the powers of

nature as separated into the powers of light and the powers of darkness — the one under the control of the great god of light (Ormuzd), who is the creator of all that is good; and the other under the control of the god of darkness (Ah'riman), who is the father of all that is evil. This is a system of religion which we call Dualism. The whole universe is looked upon as a struggle between light and darkness, between the good and the evil, in other words, between Ormuzd and Ahriman. Human life in the same way is regarded as a perpetual struggle between good and evil; and the duty of man is to cleave to that which is good and to shun that which is evil. Morality was closely related to religion. The Persians believed in truthfulness as a high moral virtue, and despised lying and deceit. The higher elements of the Persian religion were corrupted under the influence of a priestly class, the Magi, who were inclined to worship the symbol of fire in place of the god of light, and to regard the performance of religious rites and ceremonies as the chief duty of life.

Persia and Greece. — We should, of course, recognize the services which Persia performed by uniting the countries of the East under a higher political system, and by resisting the barbarous Scythians of the north. But we can not fail to see the striking contrast between this civilization and that of Greece. In Greece we have seen the decline of monarchy and the establishment of free institutions; in Persia we see the culmination of monarchy in the most highly centralized form of despotism. In Greece we have seen the growth of a new culture based upon the dignity of man, the supremacy of reason, and the love of beauty; in Persia we see the decaying stages of an old culture, which had been inherited from the older monarchies of the East, which had been developed under the influence of a priestly class, and which was strongly marked by Oriental features, extravagance, luxury, and effeminacy. If we take a larger view, we may see in Persia and the East the lower stages of human progress from which arose a higher development in Greece and the West.

IV. The Revolt of the Ionian Cities

Causes of the Ionian Revolt. — The great conflict between the East represented by Persia, and the West represented by Greece, began with the revolt of the Greek cities in Asia Minor. The cities of Ionia were at this time under the control of the Persian satrap Artapher'nes, whose capital was at Sardis. The cities were in a continual state of discontent, being ruled by tyrants supported by the Persian governor. The open revolt against Persia began at the city of Miletus, and its leading spirit was the tyrant of that city, Aristag'oras. Having failed in an expedition against Naxos (an island of the Cyclades), and fearing that he might be deprived of his power, Aristagoras assumed the championship of the Asiatic Greeks and stirred up a rebellion against the Persian authority. He appealed to the democratic spirit of the Greeks. He even resigned his own power as tyrant, and assumed the position of leader of the people. The people were everywhere inflamed with the desire of liberty. Their tyrants were seized; the Persian authority was defied, and a democratic form of government was set up everywhere in Ionia. In this way began that important event in Greek history known as the "Ionian Revolt" (500 B.C.).

Seat of the Ionian Revolt

Athens and the Ionian Cities. — It is important to notice the relation of Athens to this revolt, on account of the prominent

position which she afterward assumed in resisting the Persian encroachments. When Aristagoras had roused the Greeks of Asia Minor, he crossed over to Greece and first sought the aid of Sparta, as the most powerful of the Greek states. Meeting with a rebuff here, he turned to Athens, as the second city of Greece. Athens looked upon the people of Ionia as her kinsfolk. She was also indignant because Persia had espoused the cause of her former tyrant, Hippias, whom she had banished some time before (see page 131). Persia thus seemed to Athens to be the supporter of tyranny, while her own kinsmen were struggling for liberty. The Athenians accordingly voted that a squadron of twenty ships be sent to the aid of the Ionian cities. To this squadron were added five ships from Eretria in Eubœa; and this small fleet formed the first hostile expedition sent by the European Greeks against Persia.

The Burning of Sardis (499 B.C.). — Before the satrap Artaphernes could gather a sufficient force to defend his capital, the Greeks "made themselves masters of the whole city, except the citadel. One of the buildings being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house until the whole city was consumed. . . . In the burning of Sardis the temple of Cyb'ele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterward made a pretense by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks" (Herodotus, Bk. V., Chs. 101, 102). The Greeks in their retreat from the city were followed by the Persian army and suffered a severe defeat. This so disheartened the Athenians that they returned to Greece. The burning of Sardis, with its sacred temple, aroused the wrath of Darius against the Athenians. Herodotus tells the story that the king, on learning of this disaster, called on Zeus for vengeance, and commanded a slave to remind him thrice every day of the Athenians who had dared to interfere in the affairs of Asia.

Suppression of the Revolt. — The Ionians continued their resistance; but on account of their lack of union and effective organization, they were unable to cope with the forces of

the king. Off the little island of La'de, near Miletus, they were severely defeated by the Persian navy. The city of Miletus, the center of the revolt, was stormed, captured, and burned; and its inhabitants who escaped the sword were reduced to slavery. The remaining cities of Asia Minor were reduced in rapid succession. The neighboring islands which had taken part in the revolt — Chios, Lesbos, and Ten'edos — were obliged to succumb. The Persian fleet reduced the rebellious towns on the Hellespont and the Propontis. The people of Chalcedon and Byzantium fled at the Persians' approach, and their cities were destroyed. The able Greek commander, Milti'ades, who was ruler of the Thracian Cher'sonese, and who had favored the cause of the Ionian cities, escaped and took refuge in Athens. After a war of nearly seven years (500–493 B.C.), the revolt was entirely suppressed, and the Persian authority was reëstablished in Asia Minor with greater severity than ever before.

We see in the course of the Ionian revolt one of the chief elements of weakness that marked the Greek race; namely, the lack of union and the incapacity for effective organization. "At no time was there anything which could be called solidarity among the Asiatic Greeks; even the members of the same tribe had nothing to bind them together, except the worship of a common deity" (Abbott). By loving liberty more than union, they lost their independence.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 1, "Introductory" (10).[1]
Smith, Ch. 15, "Rise of the Persian Empire" (10).
Oman, Ch. 13, "Greeks of Asia and the Lydian Monarchy" (10).
Bury, Ch. 6, "Advance of Persia to the Ægean" (10).
Timayenis, Vol. I., Part III., Ch. 1, "Persia" (11).
Cox, General History, Bk. II., Chs. 1, 2, "The Persian Empire" (10); Greek Statesmen, "Aristagoras" (26).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 16, "The Greeks in the East" (11).
Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. II., Ch. 5, "Conflicts with the Barbarians" (11).
Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 23, "The Greeks of Asia Minor in Conflict with Lydia and Persia" (11).
Grote, Part II., Chs. 32, 33, "Rise and Growth of the Persian Empire" (11).
Herodotus, Bk. III., "Thalia" (Extension of the Persian Empire) (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Ionian Revolt. — Smith, Ch. 16 (10); Cox, Bk. II., Ch. 3 (10); Oman, Ch. 15 (10); Timayenis, Vol. I., pp. 131–135 (11); Bury, Ch. 6, § 6 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., pp. 39–56 (11); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 193–204 (11); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 1 (11); Herodotus, Bk. V., Chs. 28–38, 49–54, 97–126 (13).

CHAPTER XIV

THE INVASIONS OF GREECE BY DARIUS AND XERXES

I. The First Invasion, under Darius

The Plans of Darius against Greece. — By the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the Persian king was left free to pursue his policy of conquest. He was now determined to punish Athens and Eretria for interfering in the affairs of Asia, and especially for the part they had taken in the burning of Sardis. Darius accordingly laid his plans to insure the successful invasion of Greece. In the first place, it was necessary to secure the loyalty of the Ionian cities, so that another expedition into Europe might not be endangered by another revolt in Asia. In the next place, it was necessary to reconquer the people of Thrace and Macedonia, who had practically recovered their independence during the Ionian revolt. For the execution of these plans, the king appointed his young son-in-law, Mardonius. The duties laid upon Mardonius were, therefore: (1) to conciliate the Ionian cities; (2) to restore the Persian supremacy in Thrace and Macedonia; and (3) to invade Greece and destroy the cities of Eretria and Athens.

Failure of the Expedition under Mardonius (492 B.C.). — Having collected an army and fleet in Cilicia (*si-lish'i-a*), Mardonius proceeded to execute the designs of the king. He first pacified the Asiatic Greeks. He did this, not as Artaphernes had tried to do, by supporting their hated tyrants, but by expelling these despotic officers and restoring the Grecian democracies. He thus took away from the cities one of the chief causes of their discontent. He then entered Europe by way of the Hellespont. His fleet reduced the island of Thasos. His land forces pursued their way through Thrace into Macedonia, and in spite of a temporary defeat brought these territories once more under the Persian power. The first and second parts of his programme were thus successfully carried out. But Eretria and Athens did not receive the punishment intended for them; for the entire fleet of Mardonius was wrecked as it attempted to round the rocky point of Mt. Athos (see map, page 72). This first expedition thus failed to accomplish its ultimate purpose; but this failure did not quench the wrath of the Persian king.

Relations of Athens and Sparta. — It soon became clear that if Greece was to be saved from the vengeance of Persia, it could be done only by the united efforts of Athens and Sparta, the two leading states of Hellas. If Darius had intended simply to punish Athens, Sparta might have been inclined to hold aloof. But when the king sent his heralds to all the cities of Greece, demanding from them "earth and water" as a token of submission, it was evident that Athens and Sparta must stand or fall together. To this demand of the king most of the island states, including Ægina, yielded. Many of the continental states hesitated; but Athens and Sparta stood firm, and even treated with indignity the royal heralds. Though Athens was the special object of the king's hatred, she was willing to recognize the headship of Sparta in the coming conflict.

Expedition under Datis and Artaphernes (490 B.C.). — Darius placed his new expedition in the hands of a Median general, Datis, and his own nephew, Artaphernes, son of the Persian

satrap whom we have before noticed. Instead of following the previous course of Mardonius and risking another disaster at Mt. Athos, the new generals proceeded directly across the sea. Their fleet consisted, it is said, of six hundred triremes. On their way they captured Naxos and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. But they spared Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo. They soon landed on the island of Eubœa, and attacked the city of Eretria. After a gallant defense, the city fell by the treachery of two of its citizens. It was burned and its people were enslaved. The Persians now crossed over to Attica to mete out a similar punishment to Athens. By the advice of Hippias, the banished Athenian tyrant now in the service of the enemy, the Persians landed on the shore of Attica near the plain of Marathon.

Miltiades and the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — Upon Athens now rested the chief duty of defending Greece. She collected an army and sent it to meet the invaders. It was led by the ten strategi, or generals, who usually commanded the army each in his own turn. One of the generals was Miltiades, who had previously met the Persians and was acquainted with their tactics. To Miltiades it seemed necessary to attack the Persians on the plain of Marathon. The other generals were divided in their opinions, but finally decided to yield to the advice of Miltiades and to give to him the chief command. A swift runner, Philip'pides, was dispatched to Sparta for aid. This aid was promised; but it was delayed on account of a Spartan superstition that an army should not be sent away before the time of the full moon. The only assistance which the Athenians received was from the friendly city of Platæ'a, which sent its entire army, a thousand fighting men, raising the total force to ten or eleven thousand. The Greeks were drawn up in front of the town of Marathon. Opposite them the Persians were stationed nearer the sea and supported by their fleet. The battle line of the Greeks was equal in length to that of the Persians; but the center was made weak in order to strengthen the wings. At a given signal, the

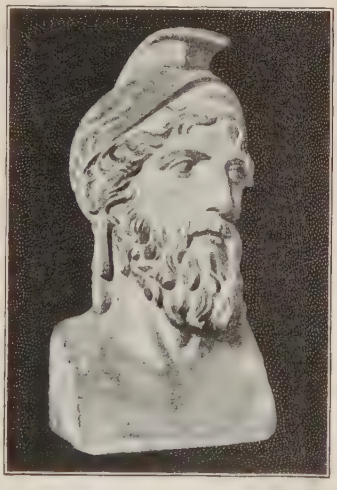
Greeks, heedless of superior numbers and the terrible shower of arrows, rushed upon the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate. The Persians broke the weak center of the Athenians and pressed forward in the intervening space. But the strong wings of the Greek army closed upon the enemy and routed them with great slaughter. The Persians were pursued to their ships, and with great difficulty embarked and sought refuge upon the open sea. Not entirely discouraged, the Persians sailed directly to Athens, hoping to find the city unguarded. But Miltiades made a forced march to Athens; and the Persians, when they arrived, found the city protected by the victorious army of Miltiades. Foiled at every point, Datis and Artaphernes sailed with their defeated forces back to Asia. When the full moon was passed, the Spartan army arrived to find that Marathon had been won.

BATTLE OF MARATHON, B.C. 490

The Athenians were entitled to look upon Marathon as their own battlefield. The Spartans paid the highest tribute to their valor. The poets of Greece vied with one another in singing the praises of the dead heroes. A monumental mound was thrown up in their honor, which remains to the present day. Two statues were erected to Miltiades, one at Athens and the other at Delphi. While the battle of Marathon did not end the struggle between the East and the West, it marked an important step toward the ascendency of Athens in Greece, and of Greece in the civilization of the world.

Fall of Miltiades. — By the victory at Marathon, Miltiades became the great hero of the hour; but from his exalted position he was destined soon to fall. He had proved himself

to be the greatest soldier that Greece had yet produced. Flushed with honor, he promised the Athenians other victories if they would intrust him with a sufficient force. Herodotus tells the story that he prevailed upon the Athenians to grant him seventy ships for a foreign expedition on the assurance that he would enrich them with an abundance of gold; that he proceeded against the island of Paros, which had sided with Persia during the war, and failing in his expedition returned to Athens; that he was charged by his enemies with deceiving his countrymen and was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents; that he died soon after from a wound received during the expedition, and that his fine was paid by his son Cimon (Herodotus, VI., 132–136). This pitiful story need not affect our judgment of Miltiades as the first great soldier of Greece. If he was inconsiderate in making a foolish request of the Athenians, the Athenians were quite as inconsiderate in granting such a request. The world will think of Miltiades, not as the man who failed in an expedition against Paros, but as the heroic warrior who won the battle of Marathon.



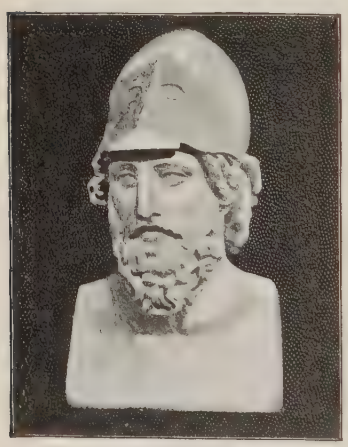
MILTIADES (So-called)

II. INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND INVASIONS (490–480 B.C.)

Position of Athens in Greece. — During the ten years which elapsed between the battle of Marathon and the next Persian invasion, Athens was gradually rising into greater prominence.

The great victory she had won placed her upon a level with Sparta as a military power. She looked upon her success as the result of the free institutions established by Clisthenes. Every citizen had now a share in her government, and took a pride in the glory she had achieved. The democratic spirit was growing stronger. The friends of Hippias, the banished tyrant, were ostracized; and the popular party held the reins of government. The political questions which now arose in Athens were questions relating not so much to the form of government as to the best mode of maintaining and strengthening the Athenian democracy.

Aristides and Themistocles. — The leaders of the Athenian democracy during this time were Aristi'des and Themis'tocles. Aristides, who was called "the Just," was a friend of liberty and a true patriot. He had supported the democratic reforms of Clisthenes, and had commanded the Greek center at Marathon. No one was held in higher esteem as a man of personal and political integrity. He believed in preserving the institutions and the policy which had made Athens the strong and successful defender of the liberties of Greece. Themistocles was no less a lover of freedom and no less a patriot. But he looked to the future as well as to the present. The success which Athens had already attained should not, he thought, blind her eyes to the need of other achievements. He looked to what Athens might do, as well as to what she had done. Without attempting to compare or to contrast the personal characters of these two leaders, we may simply look upon one



THEMISTOCLES (So-called)

as the conservative, and the other as the progressive statesman of Athens — both, however, the friends of democratic government.

The Naval Programme of Themistocles. — With a far-sighted vision Themistocles saw that the battle of Marathon had not ended the struggle with Persia. He also saw that in the coming conflict Athens, the chief object of Persia's hatred, must again bear the chief brunt of Persia's attack. Persia was both a great military and a great naval power. In any future conflict, if Sparta was to be recognized as the chief military power of Greece, Athens should be recognized as its chief maritime power. There was also another consideration in favor of the policy of Themistocles. Athens was now embroiled in a war with Ægina, the neighboring island state which had shown a sympathy with Persia. Ægina had already a strong fleet. The only hope of winning in this war was by meeting ships with ships. With arguments such as these Themistocles enforced upon the people the need of a strong navy.

Ostracism of Aristides. — This progressive scheme naturally excited the opposition of the conservative men of Athens. They argued that if Persia attempted to invade Greece by way of Thrace and Macedonia, it would be necessary to meet her with a land force. If she came again by the sea, she could again be defeated as she had been defeated at Marathon — by a land force. Upon the well-armed hoplites Greece might depend in the future as she had done in the past. Aristides was in sympathy with these views. But the people yielded to the influence of Themistocles. That the new naval project might be carried through without hindrance, Aristides was ostracized. Themistocles thus became the leader at Athens without a rival.

Athens becomes a Maritime Power. — It was through the influence and patriotism of Themistocles that Athens became the greatest naval power in Greece. This was brought about by the building of a strong fleet and the construction of an adequate harbor. The fleet was built with the aid of the silver mines

recently opened at Laurium in the south of Attica. It was at first proposed that the product of these mines, which belonged to the state, should be divided among the citizens. But Themistocles appealed to the patriotism of the people and induced them to devote the proceeds of the mines to the building of war ships. In a short time Athens possessed a fleet of two hundred triremes, numbering more than that of Ægina and Corinth combined. About this time — perhaps earlier — Themistocles also transferred the harbor of Athens from the bay of Phale'rum, which was exposed alike to storms and to enemies, to the Piræ'us, which was far better adapted for a naval station. This new port was surrounded by natural defenses, but was now further strengthened by fortifications. On account of these works Themistocles may properly be regarded as the founder of the maritime greatness of Athens. It was by his foresight and genius that Athens, and Greece as well, was made ready for the next great war with Persia.

III. The Second Persian Invasion, under Xerxes

The Preparations of Persia. — The first invasion of Greece had ended in a humiliating defeat. Herodotus tells us that Darius, who had been already exasperated with the Athenians, was still more incensed when he heard of the defeat at Marathon (Herodotus, VII., 1). The king therefore began the greatest preparations for a new attack. But these were interrupted by a revolt in Egypt, and were finally cut short by the death of the king himself. Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, a man of far greater pretensions and of far less ability than his father. Prompted to take up the task left unfinished by Darius, he called together his nobles and announced his purpose. "As Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius," he said, "have each enlarged the empire, I wish to do the same. I propose to bridge the Hellespont and march through Europe, and fire Athens for burning Sardis and opposing Datis and Artaphernes. By reducing Attica and Greece, the sky will

be the only boundary of Persia" (Herodotus, VII., 8). Four years he spent in preparing for his great expedition. Infantry, cavalry, horse transports, provisions, long ships for bridges, and war ships for battles were collected from various Asiatic nations. Three years were spent in cutting a channel through the isthmus at Athos, to evade the promontory near which the fleet of Mardonius had been wrecked. Xerxes ordered two bridges of ships to be thrown across the Hellespont, over which his enormous army might pass into Europe.

The Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.). — In view of these immense preparations, the Greeks were convinced more than ever before that upon their union depended their strength and safety. To no one else was this more clear than to Themistocles, the great Athenian, who was in this crisis the soul of Greece. In fact at no time did Hellas come so near being one nation as it did under the influence of Themistocles. At his suggestion, a congress of the Greek states was called at Corinth to consider the means of defense. The Greeks there assembled decided to lay aside all internal strifes and to act together against the common foe. They sent envoys to the states not represented, with the request to furnish aid for the defense of their common country. By this means they were able to know who was for them and who was against them. Argos replied that she would yield to the request if she were granted an equal share in the command with Sparta. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, agreed to send a large force provided he was made commander in chief, or at least commander of the combined fleet. These conditional offers were rejected. Corcyra, with more apparent grace, agreed to furnish sixty ships — but the ships never came. It was evident that dependence could be placed only upon the states represented in the congress, which states now formed a united Hellas. To Sparta, which was already the head of the Peloponnesian league, was given the nominal headship of this new Greek confederation.

The Greek Lines of Defense. — The question now arose as to the best mode of defending the Grecian territory. The answer

to this question depended upon the physical features of the country, and also upon what parts of Greece should be protected. There were three principal points at which Greece could be defended. The first of these points was at the vale of Tempe, where the entrance into northern Greece could be guarded. The second was farther south, at the pass of Thermopylæ, where an entrance into central Greece could be prevented. The third point was still farther south at the Isthmus of Corinth, by which the Peloponnesus could be defended; but a stand here would require the abandonment of Attica. The defense of any of these points, which were all near the shore, would require the support of the Grecian fleet to prevent the Persians from landing a force in the rear of the position. It became evident that the land and naval forces could best coöperate at Thermopylæ; for the shore to the south of this place is protected by the long island of Eubœa, and cannot be approached by a fleet coming from the north, except through the narrow strait leading from the point of Artemis'ium. Here the army could defend the pass, and the navy could guard the strait. When the northern pass at Tempe was found to be untenable, it was decided to make a stand at Thermopylæ — no doubt the strongest defensive point in Greece.

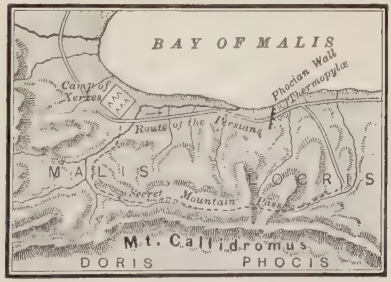
SEAT OF THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR

Route of Persian Army ———
Course of Persian Fleet — — —

The Advance of Xerxes. — After collecting his forces at Sardis, Xerxes marched to the Hellespont. Crossing into Thrace, the army was reënforced by the fleet, which had followed by way

of the coast. Here the great king reviewed his immense armament, gathered, it is said, from forty-six different nations. Here were Persians clad in corselets and armed with great bows and short javelins. Here were Ethiopians covered with the skins of beasts and having arrows tipped with sharp stones. Here were the savages from central Asia, and the more civilized warriors from Assyria and Media. According to Herodotus the whole army amounted to some millions of men. The fleet consisted of more than twelve hundred ships collected from Phœnicia, Egypt, Ionia, Cyprus, and other maritime states. With this prodigious armament Xerxes hoped to appal and overwhelm the little armies and fleets of Greece. He advanced by way of Thrace and Macedonia to the pass at Tempe, and was surprised to find this point abandoned. He then pushed through Thessaly and approached the pass of Thermopylæ.

Thermopylæ and Artemisium (480 B.C.). — The first conflict between the Greeks and the Persians comprised both a land and a naval battle. The army, under one of the Spartan kings, Leonidas, was intrusted with the defense of Thermopylæ, a narrow pass between the mountains and the sea. The Grecian fleet, also under the command of a Spartan, — but having Themistocles in charge of the Athenian division, — had been dispatched to Artemisium to prevent the approach of the Persians by the sea. Leonidas had with him about four thousand men, including three hundred Spartans, whom he stationed behind an old wall once built by the Phocians. That the whole Spartan army was not hurried to the defense of this most important position, was due to a superstition similar to that which had before delayed the arrival of



PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ

the Spartan troops at Marathon. But with his small force Leonidas determined to hold the pass. For two days Xerxes hurled against him as large detachments of his army as he was able — but in vain. Even the "Ten Thousand Immortals" were repulsed. Then a citizen of Malis, who has been branded as the "Judas of Greece," Ephial'tes by name, revealed to Xerxes a secret path over the mountains, by which a force could be thrown in the rear of the Spartan position. By this act of treachery Thermopylæ was lost. Leonidas and his Spartan band preferred death to dishonor, and perished — examples for all time of courage and patriotic devotion.

At Artemisium the Grecian fleet was held to its duty by the inspiring influence of Themistocles. The fleet comprised nearly three hundred vessels, about half of which were furnished by Athens. By persuasion, and even by bribery, Themistocles induced the Spartan commander to hold his position. For three successive days the Greeks fought the Persian navy. Although these battles were indecisive, they prevented the Persians from approaching Thermopylæ by the sea. But when the news came that Thermopylæ was lost, it was useless to hold this position longer; and the fleet retired southward to the island of Sal'amis. All central Greece was now open to the invader.

Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). — The army of Xerxes pushed through central Greece into Attica, burned Athens, and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis. The inhabitants fled to the neighboring towns. The Persian fleet meanwhile followed the Greeks to Salamis. It was here that Themistocles by his influence and adroitness brought on the decisive battle of the war. The Peloponnesian army had retreated behind the wall thrown across the Isthmus of Corinth, and its leaders insisted that the fleet should retire to the same place. But Themistocles saw the great advantage of fighting in the narrow strait between Salamis and the Attic shore, where only a part of the Persian fleet could be brought into action. The council of Greek admirals, however, decided

to retire toward Corinth, where they could act with the land forces, and also have a way of retreat if defeated. Themistocles showed to the Spartan commander that to retire from their present position would cause the abandonment of the allied states of Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, and would offer the fleet a temptation to disperse for the defense of the various cities. A new council was called, and in the heat of debate Themistocles was charged with being a "man without a country," now that Athens was lost. But he replied that with a hundred and eighty war ships at his command he could found a city anywhere. He threatened to withdraw his vessels and sail to Italy if the allies saw fit to abandon their Athenian comrades. By this threat the allies were persuaded to stand firm and fight in the strait. But to prevent any further indecision, Themistocles sent a messenger to Xerxes, giving the advice, as coming from a friend, that the Greeks must be attacked immediately to prevent their escape. Xerxes accordingly ordered up his fleet, and sent the Egyptian squadron to the strait opposite Megaris, to prevent any escape west of Salamis. At this juncture Aristides arrived from his retirement in Ægina, and pleaded with his old rival that they should now be rivals only in the cause of Greece. He announced that the battle must take place at Salamis, as all means of escape were cut off. This showed Themistocles that his plans had been successful.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS, B.C. 480

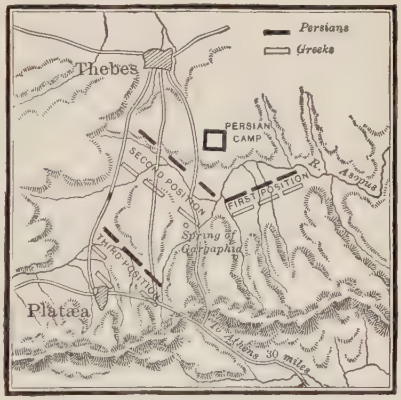
The Greek fleet now held the strait east of Salamis. The Persian squadron gathered on its front. The Phœnicians moved in heavy columns on the right and the Ionians on the left. The great king sat upon a throne erected on the slope of Mt. Ægaleos to watch the conflict. The details of this battle are uncertain; but the victory of the Greeks was decisive. The Phœnician squadron, upon which

the king chiefly relied, was shattered. Nearly half of the Persian fleet was destroyed; and a new glory crowned the loyal states of Greece.

Continuance of the War by Mardonius. — The victory at Salamis had broken the naval power of Persia; but the land forces were still intact. Xerxes, however, seemed to regard the cause of Persia as lost, and ordered a general retreat of the army. He directed the remnants of his fleet to hasten to the Hellespont to guard the bridges by which he might recross into Asia, and which were now threatened by the Greeks. But there was one man who still seemed to believe that the conquest of Greece might be completed by the army alone. This man was Mardonius. He it was who had failed in the first expedition under Darius, and who had encouraged Xerxes to undertake the present invasion. Intrusted with three hundred thousand men, Mardonius was permitted to remain in Greece to retrieve the disaster at Salamis. Before beginning his campaign the following year, Mardonius sought the alliance of Athens against the rest of Greece. He promised to aid the Athenians to rebuild their city and to give them all the neighboring territory that they desired. But the Athenians sent back the word that "so long as the sun keeps its course, we will never join the cause of Xerxes" (Herodotus, VIII., 143). Attica was once more invaded, and the Athenians were again obliged to flee for safety. Again Greece was called upon to resist the invaders. Athens again called upon Sparta for aid, which was furnished after the usual delay. While the Grecian army was being collected, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, near Platæa, to await the final contest.

Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.). — Against the army of Mardonius the Greeks brought a force of about a hundred thousand men under the command of the Spartan Pausa'nias. The Athenian division was led by Aristides. The Spartan commander was evidently convinced of the superiority of the Athenian division, for he insisted that it should hold the place of honor and danger against the strongest wing of the Persian

army. After fighting and maneuvering in three different positions, the battle was finally decided near the walls of Platæa. Although the generalship of Pausanias was faulty in many particulars, the day was won by the sturdy valor of the Spartans and the brave soldiers of Athens and Platæa. The Persian army was nearly annihilated. Mardonius was killed. The surviving Persians fled to Thebes and then to Thessaly, and afterward made their way back to Asia. Another decisive victory was thus added to those of Salamis and Marathon. In commemoration of this victory the assembled allies made an offering of thanksgiving to Zeus Eleuthe'rios (the Deliverer), and instituted a public festival, called the Eleuthe'ria, to be celebrated once in every four years. The defensive alliance against Persia was also renewed; this is known as the "league of Platæa."



BATTLE OF PLATÆA, B.C. 479

On the same day, it is said, on which the battle of Platæa was fought, the Grecian fleet, having set out from Delos, gained a signal victory over the Persian navy on the Asiatic coast near the promontory of Myc'ale (map, page 80). This gave the Ionian Greeks fresh hope that the day of their deliverance was near.

The Carthaginian Attack; Battle of Himera. — While the Persians were trying to conquer Greece, the Grecian colonies of Sicily were called upon to resist an attack by Carthage. (For the chief centers of Greek colonization in Sicily, see pp. 146, 147.) Carthage, like Persia, represented the civilization of the East; and the struggle in Sicily, as well as in

Greece, was a conflict between Orientalism and the new culture of Hellas. Carthage was now attempting to establish her supremacy over the cities of the West. She was led to do this on account of the growing power of Syracuse, which had become the leading city of Sicily under the energetic rule of the tyrant Gelo (or Gelon). Carthage and Persia were thus united in the effort to destroy the liberties of Greece. The decisive battle in Sicily was fought at Himera (480 B.C.; map, p. 136), on the same day, it is said, as the battle of Salamis. Here the Carthaginians suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Gelo.

By their victories over Persia and Carthage, the Greeks were freed from Oriental domination. They thus obtained a period of comparative peace in which they were permitted to develop still further their own institutions and culture.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Chs. 17–20, Battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Platæa, Mycale (10).[1]
Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 3, "Themistocles and the Naval Programme" (10).
Oman, Chs. 19, 20, "The Invasion of Xerxes" (10).
Bury, Ch. 7, "The Perils of Greece" (10).
Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 3, "The Great Invasion" (11).
Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 1, "The War of Liberation" (11).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 4, "The Year 480" (11).
Cox, Greek Statesmen, "Miltiades," "Aristides," "Themistocles" (26).
Plutarch, "Aristides," "Themistocles" (13).
Herodotus, Bk. VIII., "Urania" (Artemisium and Salamis) (13).
Æschylus, Drama of "The Persians" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

Carthaginian Invasion of Sicily. — Oman, Ch. 21 (10); Bury, pp. 300–304 (10); Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 14 (10); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 6 (11); Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 12 (11).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XV

EFFECTS OF THE PERSIAN WARS UPON GREEK CULTURE

I. The New Spirit in Literature

Transitional Period in Greek Culture. — The Persian wars mark an epoch not only in the political but in the intellectual life of Greece. They not only assured the independence of Greece from foreign dominion, but they aroused a spirit of intellectual freedom, and gave a new vigor and earnestness to the Greek mind. The people had formerly been accustomed to look back to the time of Homer as their "heroic age." They were now inclined to look upon their own heroes as equal to the heroes of the Trojan war. "The idea was afloat in the air that the Trojan war was an earlier act in the same drama — that the warriors of Salamis and Platæa were fighting in the same cause as the heroes who had striven with Hector on the plains of Troy" (Bury). The poems of Homer now became more popular; and the new heroic spirit put a new life into poetry and art. This is seen in the higher honor which was now given to military courage — in the pæans sung to fallen heroes, and in the sculptures carved to represent warriors and warlike scenes. The culture of this time may not form a well-defined "period"; but it marks a clear transition from the simple and archaic culture which preceded it in the formative period to the more highly developed culture of the age which followed it.

Lyric Poetry; Simonides. — We may see the influence of this new spirit in the more vigorous and lofty tone given to lyric poetry. The poet who more than any other expressed the patriotic feeling awakened by the Persian wars, was Simon'ides. Born in Ceos, an island near Attica, he spent most of his life in Athens. He was a man of the world, and breathed the spirit

of his age. He was also a philosophical thinker, whom Plato called "the wise and the divine." He was the first to use lyric measures in funeral dirges and monumental inscriptions. He wrote many noble epitaphs in honor of those who fell in the battles of the Persian wars, for example: —

> "In dark Thermopylæ they lie;
> Oh, death of glory thus to die!
> Their tomb an altar is, their name
> A mighty heritage of fame."

The Poetry of Pindar. — The lyric poetry of Greece reached its highest development in Pindar. This great poet was a native of Bœotia. He received his education at Athens; and he was honored by all the free states of Hellas. He was hence a truly national poet. While he did not despise military courage, he believed that there were more enduring virtues than those displayed in war. Hostility to Persia had tended to unite Greece in war; but something else was needed to preserve her greatness in peace. And so Pindar, with a genius far superior to that of Simonides, glorified the national institutions of Greece — the festivals, the games, the shrines of the gods, and the higher religious beliefs of the people. The poetry of Pindar was lofty in its spirit, profuse in its imagery, and sonorous in its rhythm. His triumphal odes comprise the chief part of his works that have come down to us. In these he expressed his admiration for physical and moral virtue, and for religious ideals, as well as his belief in future rewards and punishments. And so he sings: —

> "The deeds that stubborn mortals do
> In this disordered nook of Jove's domain
> All find their meed; and there's a judge below
> Whose hateful doom inflicts th' inevitable pain."

Rise of Dramatic Poetry. — Another way in which the spirit of the new age showed itself is seen in the rise of dramatic poetry. The drama grew out of one form of the lyric. We have already seen how the early lyric poetry acquired two dis-

tinct forms, the Æolian and the Dorian — the one expressed in the ode to be sung or recited by a single person; the other expressed in the choral hymn to be sung by a number of voices (see page 161). The personal ode reached its perfection in Pindar. But the choral hymn, which had been used by Arion for the worship of Dionysus, and which was known as the dithyramb, became transformed into the drama. Heretofore the chorus had been accompanied by dancing and gesticulations and had expressed in a rude and wild way the emotions supposed to be appropriate to the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. But Thespis, a lyric poet of Attica, introduced an actor who assumed different characters and carried on a sort of dialogue with the leader of the chorus; and this served to explain the motive of the choral hymn. This form of the drama, with a single actor, was cultivated by Phryn'ichus, who took for his subject events in the Persian wars. His tragedy on the "Capture of Miletus" melted his audience into tears; but as it seemed to reproach the Athenians for not aiding their kin beyond the sea, a fine was imposed upon him and the play was proscribed. In a later tragedy, however, he stirred the patriotic feeling of his audience by depicting the effect which the news of the battle of Salamis had upon the Persian court.

The Tragedies of Æschylus. — But the greatest dramatist and literary genius of the period of the Persian wars was Æs'chylus, who lifted tragedy into the domain of genuine art. He was present at the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, and Platæa. He surpassed Simonides in his patriotic fervor, Pindar in his lofty spirit, and Phrynichus in his pathetic power. He improved the form of the drama by introducing a second actor; so that the dialogue became the principal feature, while the chorus echoed the emotions produced by the play. By combining the dialogue and the chorus he depicted some great event, either historical or mythical, so as to reveal the workings of human passion under the control of the divine will. In his earliest tragedy, "The Persians," he followed Phrynichus in picturing the effects of the news of Salamis

upon the court of Persia. The subjects of his later tragedies were taken from the heroic myths, but infused with deep human feeling and religious sentiment. His greatest work was probably the "Prome'theus Bound," in which a god, chained to a rock by command of Zeus, is made to suffer for the good deeds done to men.

II. Improvement in Art; Sculpture

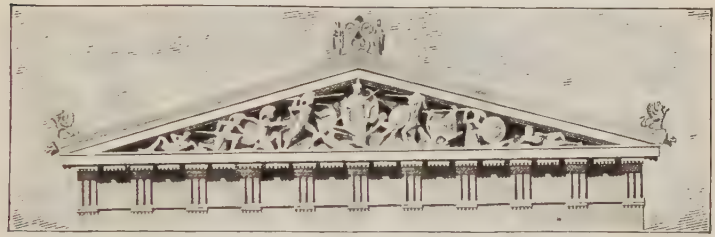
Transitional Period in Greek Sculpture. — As the literature of this period shows the influence of more vigorous thought and a more elevated spirit, so the art — especially sculpture — shows a similar influence. The crude and stiff forms of the archaic period were giving way to more careful workmanship and to a greater freedom of design. We begin to see the figures in stone and bronze expressing a greater degree of life and action. The patriotic feeling of the age is expressed in bronze and marble; and the warlike virtues are exalted in the sculptured groups which adorn the temples. We can here perceive a distinct movement in the direction of that higher art which was to follow in the age of Per'icles.

"Soldier of Marathon"

Grave Monuments; Aristion. — One of the earliest evidences of this change is seen in the care bestowed upon monumental designs, especially those intended to commemorate the heroes of the Persian wars. The art of the sculptor was employed to honor military virtue. An example of this is the noted gravestone, or stele, of Aris'tion, commonly called the "soldier of Marathon." Here is a panoplied warrior holding his upright spear, and giving the impression of calm courage. Although there are some features of the archaic

style still remaining, there is yet a certain dignity and life-likeness which shows some advance upon the older art.

Temple Decoration; Marbles of Ægina. — More striking examples of the vigorous spirit of the time are seen in the decoration of the temples. Hitherto, the metopes in the frieze had been filled with small reliefs, representing some mythological



PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE AT ÆGINA (Restored)

person or event. Now the whole pediment, between the architrave and the roof, was filled with groups of statuary, revealing a high degree of life and action. These are often battle scenes suggested by the Trojan war, commemorating Grecian valor and the protecting care of the gods. The most noted of the pedimental groups of this period are the marbles of Ægina. The group in the western pediment is supposed to illustrate the struggle of the Greeks and the Trojans over the body of Patro'clus, and the intervention of the goddess Athena. In the center stands the calm figure of the goddess. On her right are the Grecian warriors, on her left the Trojans — both groups carved in the attitude of combat.

Attic Statuary; the Tyrannicides. — The progress made in the direction of independent statuary is seen in the two bronze figures of the tyrannicides at Athens, the work of Ante'nor. These statues, although separate, were intended to stand together representing a single action. They were intended to honor the men who struck the fatal blow against Athenian tyranny, and who were regarded as the liberators of the city — Harmodius and Aristogiton (see page 131). These bronze

figures personify the spirit of liberty, and express in their vigorous attitude the idea of physical and moral bravery. The original statues were carried away from Athens by Xerxes, and another group was set up in their place. When Alexander the Great afterward conquered Persia, he restored to Athens the original bronzes, and the two groups were placed side by side on a terrace overlooking the market place

ARISTOGITON (one of the Tyrannicides)

The Works of Myron. — But the statuary of this transitional period reached its highest stage in the works of Myron, who approached most nearly the great sculptors of the age of Per'icles. His works exhibit not only the freedom and action which generally marked the period, but an exceptional degree of anatomical correctness. In them we see the beneficial effects of the national games upon Greek statuary. One of the most famous of the statues of Myron is the Discob'olus (the disc-thrower), who is represented in the momentary act of summoning all his strength to hurl the discus. Every limb, every muscle is tense and contributes to the main action of the body, and the beholder waits expectantly to see the feat accomplished. Myron executed many other works, such as a colossal group, on one pedestal, of Zeus, Athena, and Hercules; and statues of Apollo and of Dionysus, as well as a noted figure of a satyr (Mar'syas).

These works of Myron, as well as those previously mentioned, grew out of the intellectual activity and the more vig-

orous life which attended the Persian wars, and which prepared the way for the higher and more refined art of the coming age.

III. State of Philosophy and Science

The Period Unfavorable to Philosophy. — While the energetic spirit of this period gave a new inspiration to literature and art, it was not so favorable to philosophical and scientific thought. The Greek mind was stirred with intense feelings, which could find an appropriate expression in the verses of Simonides or the marbles of Ægina. But the times were not conducive to calm reflection and the construction of philosophical systems. Indeed, the most influential philosophy of the time was perhaps embodied in the exalted words of wisdom scattered through the verses of the poets — Simonides, Pindar, and Æschylus. The only professed philosophers whose names properly belong to this period are Heracli'tus of Ephesus and Parmen'ides of Elea, two men who lived at the opposite extremes of the Hellenic world, — the one under the dark shadow of the Persian power, the other on the brighter and more peaceful soil of Italy.

"Discobolus" of Myron

Heraclitus of Ephesus. — Asia Minor had been

the original home of Greek philosophy. Here at Miletus had flourished Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximines. But the Persian wars had blighted the culture of the Ionian cities. The last representative of the Ionian school was Heraclitus. A native of Ephesus, he had seen his land ravaged by war and finally deprived of its liberty. In despair he took refuge in the neighboring mountains, and in his hermit retreat he deplored the miseries of the world. He was aptly called the "weeping philosopher." The whole world seemed to him to be a world of conflict and of change. To him everything appeared to be in a state of agitation; and hence he laid down the principle that "strife is the father of all things." There is nothing stable and enduring; and so he reasoned that "all things are in a state of flow." Everything is continually coming and going, and nothing is fixed. If there is any primary element in the universe, it must be something like fire, which never retains a definite and permanent form. The philosophy of Heraclitus embodied the natural reflections of a man who lived in that part of the Greek world which had once been free and prosperous, but which had now lost its faith and hope.

Parmenides of Elea. — If the Persian war quenched the philosophical spirit in Ionia, where it had once flourished, it could not be expected to encourage philosophy in Greece, where it had not yet been cultivated to any extent. Even Sicily had suffered from a war between Syracuse and Carthage. The only spot in the Hellenic world which seemed to afford an opportunity for calm reflection and high philosophical thought was southern Italy. And here at Elea still flourished the school established by Xenophanes, the philosopher who believed that the universe at its foundation is One, and that that One is God (see page 164). The philosopher who now arose at Elea and who was doubtless the greatest thinker of this age, was Parmenides. If Heraclitus believed that everything is in a state of change, it was because he simply looked on the surface of things by the means of the senses. If by the aid of reason we look below the surface, we shall find an ultimate principle

which does not change — the absolute Being, ever the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. And so Parmenides distinguished between the world of sense, which is only appearance, and the world of reason, which is reality. With such a faith in an eternal principle, he lived a noble life; and it became a sort of proverb among the Greeks to speak of a "life like that of Parmenides."

In conclusion we may say that the Persian wars aroused a sentiment of patriotism and encouraged active and vigorous feelings, which were expressed in poetry and art. But they discouraged the cultivation of calm thought, and so philosophy declined in Asia Minor, and flourished only in Italy, which was in the least degree affected by the wars of the period. But we shall see that the Persian wars indirectly contributed to the growth of the Athenian empire and the higher culture of the age of Pericles.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 21, "History of Literature" (10).[1]
Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 4, "Passage from Sporadic to Systematic Culture" (10).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 12, "Literature, Science, and Art" (11).
Pater, p. 266 *et seq.*, "The Marbles of Ægina" (12).
Tarbell, Ch. 7, "Transitional Period of Greek Sculpture" (19).
Collignon, p. 127 *et seq.*, "The Æginetan School" (19).
Perry, Second Period, "From 500 B.C. to the Beginning of the Career of Pericles" (19).
Symonds, pp. 144–152, "Simonides"; Ch. 6, "Pindar" (23).
Zeller, § 20, "Parmenides"; § 22, "Heracleitus" (24).

SPECIAL STUDY

Greek Music and Lyric Poetry. — Blümner, pp. 111–113 (22); Gulick, pp. 82–84 (22); Guhl and Koner, pp. 199–212 (22); Harper's Class. Dict., "Musica" (18); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Music, Greek" (18); Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 185–188 (10); Jebb, Greek Poetry, Ch. 4 (23).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD IV. THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE; AGE OF PERICLES (479–431 B.C.)

CHAPTER XVI

THE GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

I. Themistocles and the Recovery of Athens

The Supremacy of Athens. — We have now reached the period in which Athens becomes the center of the Greek world. We have already seen this remarkable city gradually coming to the front. Her superiority has been evident in many things — in the development of her free institutions; in the growth of her maritime power; in the influence of her great statesmen; in the part which she took in the defense of Hellas. During the coming half century we shall see her rising into still greater prominence, until she becomes the leader of Greek politics and of Greek civilization. We shall see her under Themistocles recovering from the disasters of the Persian wars. We shall see her under Aristides becoming the center of a new confederacy. We shall see her under Cimon establishing her supremacy over the maritime states of Greece. Finally, under Pericles, we shall see her completing her empire and reaching the highest point of culture attained by the ancient world.

The Policy of Themistocles. — For a brief time after the retreat of the Persians, Themistocles continued to shape the destiny of Athens. The city had twice been occupied by the enemy, and it was now a heap of ruins. The people returned

from their places of refuge in Salamis and Ægina, and began to rebuild their fallen houses. But Themistocles saw that a defense for the city was quite as important as a shelter for the citizens. Without strong walls their homes would still be insecure. But he looked beyond the mere matter of temporary safety; he still clung to his policy of making Athens the strongest state in Greece. He saw not only the possibility of another invasion from a foreign enemy, but what was more likely, the possibility of a war with jealous neighbors. At any rate Athens should be fortified. Her walls should be so strong and extensive as to afford a safe retreat for all her citizens. Yielding to the influence of their leader, the people set to work in earnest to encircle the city with new walls.

The Building of the City Walls. — The policy of Themistocles to strengthen Athens excited the jealousy of the neighboring states. Ægina and Corinth appealed to Sparta to put a stop to this work. An embassy was therefore sent to Athens to remonstrate against the scheme of fortifying the city. As Themistocles believed that Sparta was prompted by a secret enmity, he adopted the deceitful arts usually employed against an enemy. He ordered the work on the wall to be stopped before the eyes of the Spartan envoys. He then suggested that a special embassy of three persons, of which he would be one, be sent to Sparta to make negotiations regarding the matter. He then hastened to Sparta, but instructed his two colleagues — one of whom was Aristides — to delay as long as possible, and to push forward with all speed the work of building the walls. While he was dallying with the Spartan ephors, and complaining of the delay of his colleagues, the whole population of Attica — men, women, and children — were toiling day and night to complete the walls, using in their extremity even tombstones and the débris of ruined temples. At last, when the walls were of sufficient height to protect the city, Themistocles boldly declared the truth, and assured the Spartans that the fortifications had been built, not only for the security of Athens, but for the safety of all Greece.

The Fortification of the Piræus. — Now that the walls of the city were completed, Themistocles turned his attention to the new harbor which he had designed before the last Persian invasion (p. 184). This port, the Piræus, was about four and a half miles from Athens, and could not well be inclosed within the same walls. A new and stronger line of works was now thrown about the Piræus; and to an impregnable city was added an impregnable harbor. At this port grew up a commercial population — merchants, sailors, resident foreigners

The Piræus, the Port of Athens (Restoration)

who carried on trade. The Piræus thus became a suburb of Athens, and an important commercial center.

Completion of the Work of Themistocles. — The elevation of Athens to a position in which she might become the independent ruler of the sea, was the last great work of Themistocles. This was entirely in line with the policy that marked his whole career — the policy of a wise patriot, a military genius, and a far-seeing statesman. By means of a commanding influence, which excited the admiration of his countrymen, and also by means of craft and cunning which laid him open to the condemnation of his enemies, he constantly labored for the greatness of Athens. To him more than to any other man did

Greece owe her deliverance from the domination of Persia; and upon the foundations which he laid was built the Athenian empire.

When in a few years his common enemies at Athens and Sparta gained the upper hand, he was driven into exile; he was hunted from the land he had saved; and at last he was obliged to find a refuge among his enemies in Persia. In spite of the many stories told about his acts of bribery and his apparent sympathy with the Persian king and his acceptance of Persian honors, there is no evidence to show that he ever, even in his exile, raised his hand against the cause of Greece.

II. Aristides and the Confederacy of Delos

Liberation of the Ægean Cities. — The further growth of Athens is seen in the freeing of the Ægean cities from the Persian authority, and their union into a maritime confederacy. During the Persian wars, most of the cities of the Ægean — those upon the islands as well as those upon the Asiatic coast — had lost their independence, and were now struggling to regain their freedom. To Sparta it seemed best not to continue the war against Persia, but to invite the oppressed people to forsake their homes and come to Greece, where they could find new settlements. But Athens desired to complete the war of liberation, and to lend a helping hand to the Greeks of the Ægean. Sparta reluctantly acceded to this policy. As Sparta was still the nominal head of Greece, the fleet was placed under the command of Pausanias, the victor at Platæa. The Athenian division was commanded by Aristides, with whom was associated Cimon, the son of Miltiades. The fleet first sailed south to the island of Cyprus, the most important stronghold of Persia in the Mediterranean, and many of the cities there were set free. Turning to the north, Pausanias besieged Byzantium, which was soon reduced. The work of liberation, so well begun, was interrupted by the treacherous conduct of the Spartan commander.

Treachery of Pausanias. — With the spoils of Byzantium in his hands, Pausanias showed that he was at heart more of a Persian than a Greek. He threw aside the restraints of Spartan discipline, and assumed the dress and manners of a Persian satrap. Oriental luxury seemed to him more attractive than Greek simplicity. He even offered to ally himself with the Persian king, and to betray into his hands the states of Greece. The victor of Platæa thus became a traitor to his country. Despised by his fleet, he was recalled to Sparta. After a time, when the evidence of his guilt became clear and he was about to be arrested, he sought refuge in the temple of Athena. But this did not protect him from the vengeance of the people. The doors of the temple were closed by a wall, and the traitor was starved to death.

Aristides the Commander of the Fleet. — The treason of Pausanias led to a new step in the growth of Athenian supremacy. When the officers of the Grecian fleet at Byzantium compared the treacherous and brutal conduct of Pausanias with the upright character of Aristides they with one accord offered the command to the Athenian admiral. Sparta, in a short time, sent a new commander; but he was not recognized, and he returned with his vessels to Greece. By obtaining the chief command of the Grecian fleet, Athens acquired the supreme control of the sea. Sparta withdrew from the leadership which she had nominally held since the Congress of Corinth (see page 185); and she relapsed into her former position as simply the head of the Peloponnesian league.

Formation of the Delian Confederacy. — The time was now ripe for the formation of a new confederacy under the leadership of Athens. The chief duty of organizing the new league fell to Aristides, the commander of the fleet. He formed alliances with the cities, not only on the islands, but also on the Asiatic coasts, for the purpose of forming a union to resist the Persian power. All members of the confederacy were to be equal; they were to send delegates to a common congress; and they were to furnish ships or money for the common cause. The

confederacy was to be a perpetual union; and no member could withdraw without the consent of the others. The island of Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo, was selected as the place where the common meetings were to be held, and where the common treasury was to be established. The assessments for the treasury were intrusted to Aristides, in whose justice all had confidence. The confederacy of Delos was essentially an Ionian league, under the leadership of Athens; and it was an offset to the Dorian league of the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Sparta. Henceforth the interests of Athens and of Sparta became more and more opposed to each other; and they came to be recognized as the two rival powers of Hellas.

The Character of Aristides. — The formation of the Delian confederacy was preëminently the work of Aristides. It is a question whether any other statesman of Greece could have brought about this result. To no one else were the allies so willing to intrust their cause. He won the respect of all his contemporaries, and received the title of "the Just." It is a mistake to suppose that he was in sympathy with the aristocracy. While he was a conservative, he was a friend of the people, and no one was more thoroughly a patriot. He moved forward when the interests of Greece required it. He may not have had the great genius and adroit skill of Themistocles; but he was a man whose character is a shining light in the ancient world.

III. Cimon and the Growth of Imperialism

The Leadership of Cimon. — The man who now came to the front in Athens was Cimon, the son of Miltiades. He had not only shared with Aristides the command of the allied fleet; he had also shared with him the confidence of the allied states. He was well qualified to take the lead in the further development of Athenian power. He was a soldier of the first rank; and he used his ability to enlarge and make strong the newly formed confederacy. The policy of Athens under Cimon is

seen in the steps by which the confederacy of Delos was gradually changed into an empire — by which the allies, instead of being the equal members of a league, became the subjects of an imperial city.

Extension of the Confederacy. — The first great ambition of Cimon was to bring all the cities of the Ægean within the Delian league. He proceeded to Thrace and freed many cities on that coast. He reduced the rocky island of Scyros, where a nest of pirates threatened the commerce of Athens; and he planted upon it a colony of Athenian citizens. But his greatest military achievement was the defeat of the land and naval forces of Persia near the mouth of the river Eurym'edon in southern Asia Minor (466 B.C.; map, page 137). This double victory insured the freedom of the cities of Caria and Lycia, on the Asiatic coast, and thus added to the strength of the confederacy.

CIMON (So-called)
From a gem

The Policy of Coercion. — But while Athens was thus liberating those cities which wished her protection, she was also drawn into the policy of coercing those cities which did not wish her protection. For example, the island of Naxos, which had voluntarily joined the league, desired to be independent, and seceded from the confederacy (466 B.C.). But it was compelled by force of arms to return to its allegiance. Another example may be seen in the case of Thasos, also a member of the league. The Thasians complained that Athens was encroaching upon their commercial interests, and revolted; and they even called upon Sparta for assistance. But the allied fleet under Cimon reduced the island to submission (463 B.C.). The tendency of this policy of coercion was to change the allied cities into subjects, and to make Athens not merely the leader of a confederacy, but the sovereign of an empire.

Enmity between Sparta and Athens. — During the Thasian revolt we can see the bitter feeling which was growing up between the two rival powers of Greece. The Spartans, although at peace with Athens, secretly prepared an expedition to send into Attica, as a diversion in favor of the Thasians. This hostile and treacherous design was not executed, on account of a terrible earthquake at Sparta and a general revolt of the Spartan helots. The Spartan army was thus compelled to remain at home to crush this dangerous revolt, which at last became so formidable that the Spartans were forced to call upon Athens for help. Whether Athens should give aid to Sparta, was now the burning question before the Athenian assembly. The new leaders of the democracy, Ephialtes and Pericles, were utterly opposed to helping a city which had already proved itself faithless. But Cimon espoused the cause of Sparta, and through his influence an army was sent to aid in putting down the revolt. That Cimon was wrong and his opponents were right became evident when the Spartans, jealous and suspicious, dismissed the Athenian army with the curt remark that its services were no longer needed. This piece of effrontery served to widen the breach between these rival states.

The party of Cimon, which had favored the cause of Sparta, lost its influence; and Cimon himself was ostracized (461 B.C.). In the same year in which Cimon was exiled, the chief leader of the democratic party, Ephialtes, was assassinated. By the removal of these two party chiefs, Pericles became the leading man in Athens.

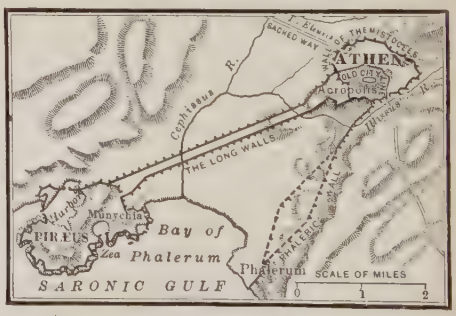
IV. Pericles and the Athenian Empire

Pericles and his Policy. — Under Pericles Athens reached its highest power and glory. In his character this great man united many of the best qualities of his predecessors, — the skillful statesmanship of Themistocles, the patriotic spirit and democratic sympathies of Aristides, the military accom-

plishments and imperial ambition of Cimon. But he added to these the power of persuasive eloquence, which gave him control over the Athenian assembly. His political policy was to extend the imperial power of Athens, and to resist Persia, not only by protecting the Ægean cities, but also by aiding the Persian insurgents, especially in Egypt and Cyprus.

Pericles

The Building of the Long Walls. — Pericles followed the policy of Themistocles in seeking first of all to make Athens an impregnable city The fortifications erected by Themistocles about Athens and about the Piræus had created two separate centers of defense. Pericles desired to unite these two places by one system of defensive works, and thus to prevent Athens from being cut off from her harbor and from the rest of the world. This defensive system may have been begun by Cimon; but it was completed by Pericles. One of the new walls, the southern, ran from the city to the Bay of Phalerum; and another, the northern, ran to the harbor of the Piræus. In a few years a third and middle wall was erected near and parallel to the northern one, the two together being known as the "Long Walls." These formed a wide and secure avenue from



The Walls of Athens

the city to the Piræus. Athens and the Piræus were thus united in a single fortified area, which formed a military and naval base of operations for the whole empire.

Extension of the Athenian Power. — It was a part of the policy of Pericles to extend the influence of Athens upon the land as well as upon the sea, and thus to make Athens the head of a continental as well as a maritime league. The first step in this direction was taken as the result of an alliance which had already been formed by Athens with Argos and Megara. This alliance excited the jealousy of the neighboring Dorian states, Corinth and Ægina; a war followed, and Ægina was reduced to the condition of a tributary state. The next step was the result of an attempt made by Sparta to settle a dispute between Phocis and Doris. This brought on a war between Athens, on the one side, and Sparta and Bœotia, on the other. After two engagements — at Tan'agra (457 B.C.) and at Œnoph'yta (456 B.C.; map, page 214) — Phocis and Locris became the willing allies of Athens, and Doris and Bœotia (except Thebes) were compelled to join the new continental league. By these two movements the Athenian power was extended over the most of central Greece.

Culmination of the Athenian Empire. — At the same time that Athens was gaining new allies on the land, she was also obtaining greater power over her allies upon the sea. The members of the Delian confederacy were at first expected simply to furnish ships and sufficient money to maintain the fleet. Soon they were inclined to make their contributions entirely in money, while retaining their independence. Afterward the contributions were regarded as tribute due to Athens, which Athens had a right to collect. Again, it was at first expected that the affairs of the confederacy were to be managed by a congress of delegates, meeting at Delos; but the allies soon regarded these meetings as irksome, and the political control of the confederacy gradually passed into the hands of Athens. Finally, the common treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens (about 454 B.C.). By these

steps the political and financial administration of the league became centralized in Athens; and the Delian confederacy became transformed into an Athenian empire. Of all members of the original confederacy, only three — Chios, Lesbos, and Samos — were allowed to retain their position as equal and independent allies.

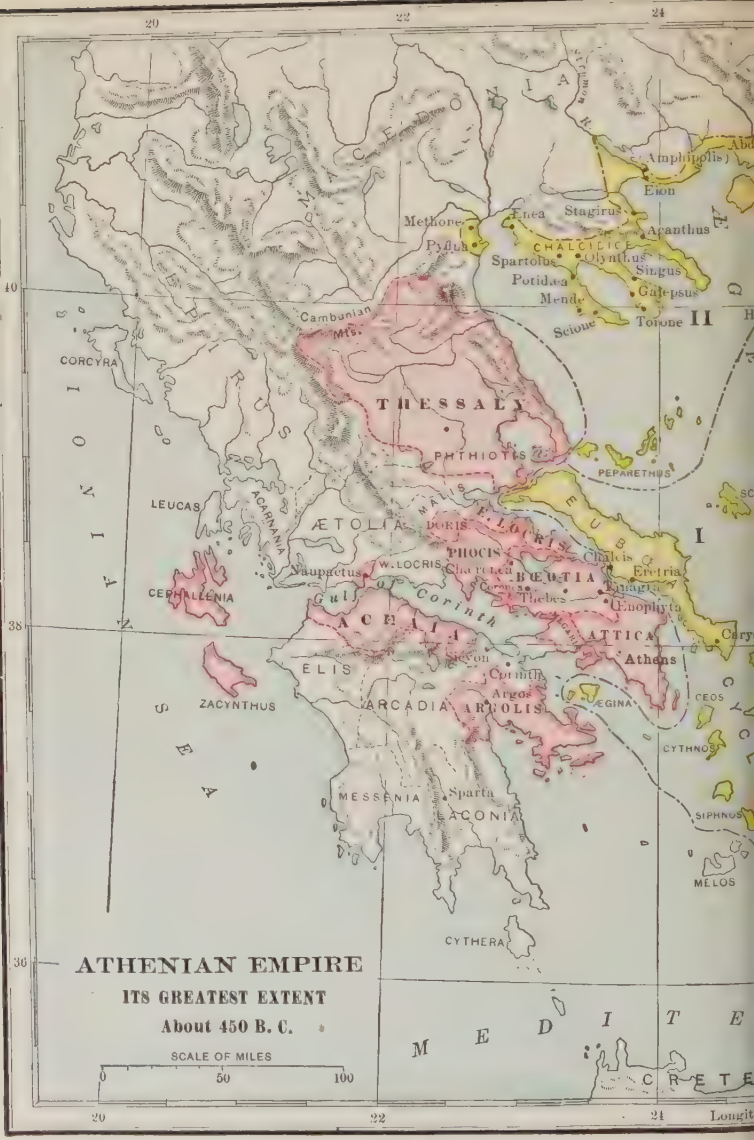
Restoration and Death of Cimon. — After the empire was finally established, Cimon, who had been recalled from his banishment, recovered for a brief time his influence over the Athenian assembly; and his policy again found favor with the people. His policy involved peace with Sparta and war with Persia. A Five Years' Truce was accordingly formed between Athens and Sparta (450 B.C.), by which each party agreed to respect the rights and possessions of the other. Cimon then set out on a new expedition against Cyprus, in which island Persia was now attempting to reëstablish her authority. This expedition resulted in a decisive victory over the Persians, and also in the death of Cimon (449 B.C.). It is said that Cimon concluded a treaty of peace with Persia; but concerning this there is much doubt. With the death of Cimon, Pericles regained his previous position as the ruling spirit of Athens.

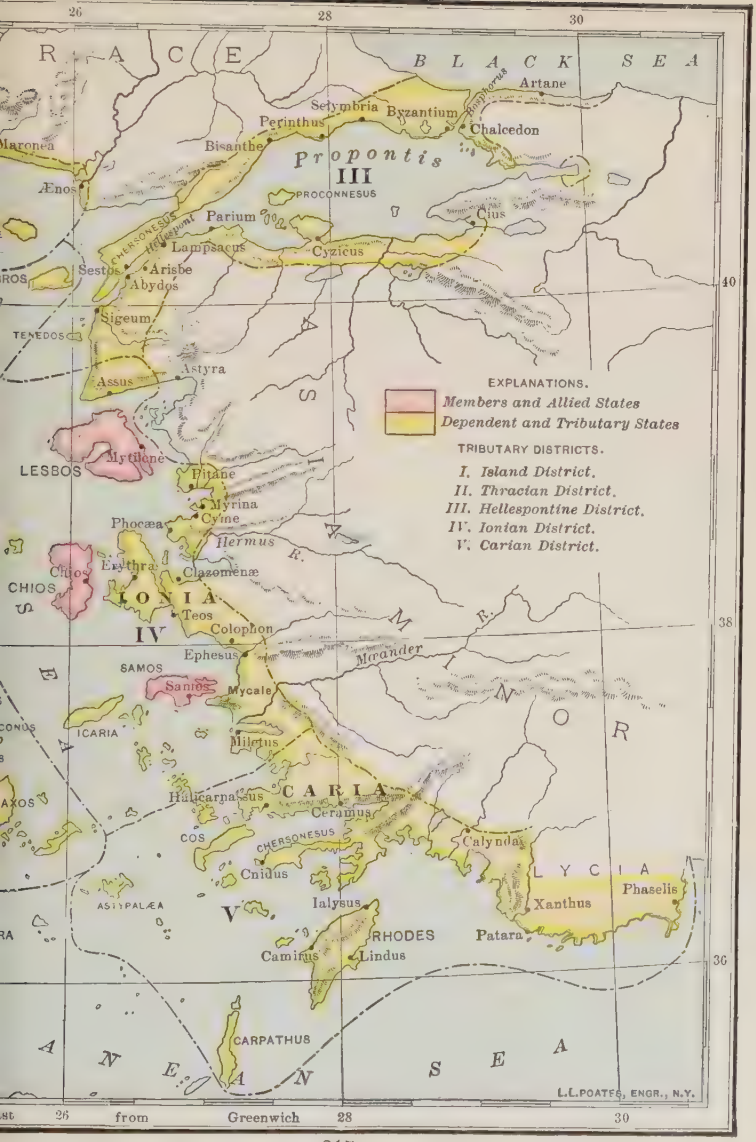
Survey of the Athenian Empire. — This point of time marks the limit reached by Athens in the development of her imperial policy. Her whole dominion comprised an empire upon the land and an empire upon the sea. (1) The land empire comprised the most important states of European Greece outside of the Peloponnesian league, including Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, Doris, East Locris, Thessaly, Naupac'tus in West Locris, and some of the cities of Argolis and Achaia, — to which should be added the islands Zacynthus and Cephallenia in the Ionian Sea. (2) The maritime empire comprised all the important islands of the Ægean Sea, as well as the Greek cities on the coasts of Asia Minor and Thrace, which had been recovered from Persia.

For administrative purposes all the maritime cities — except those of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — were grouped in five

great tributary districts; the *first* comprising the islands of the central and western Ægean from Imbros to the Cyclades, including Ægina and Eubœa; the *second*, the cities on the Thracian coast, including also the island of Thasos; the *third*, the cities surrounding the Propontis; the *fourth*, those along the Ionian coast; and the *fifth*, those along the shores of Caria and Lycia. In these five districts were more than two hundred and sixty cities that paid tribute to Athens. The population of the whole empire has been estimated at about two millions (Holm, II., 223); but the data upon which this estimate is made are very uncertain.

Failure of the Imperial Policy of Athens. — The wonderful energy which Athens displayed at this time is evident when we consider that, within a period of thirty years, she had recovered all the Ægean cities lost during the Persian wars, and had established her authority over a large part of European Greece. But her ambitious policy to maintain an empire upon the land proved a failure. She was soon beset with difficulties and afflicted with reverses, which weakened her influence among her continental allies. News had already come that a fleet of two hundred vessels, sent some time before to free Egypt from Persia, had been annihilated (454 B.C.). Sparta still claimed the right to interfere in the affairs of central Greece. Bœotia opposed the effort to establish democratic governments within her borders, and defeated the Athenians in a battle at Corone'a (447 B.C.). The spirit of revolt extended to other cities; and one after another the Athenian land allies renounced their allegiance. Under these depressing circumstances Pericles concluded a Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta (445 B.C.), by which Athens gave up her claims to the Peloponnesian cities, and each party was restricted to its present possessions. Although obliged to give up her land empire, Athens still maintained her supremacy upon the sea, and still retained her position as the foremost leader of Greek democracy and the highest representative of Greek culture.


20
22
24
40
38
36
Amphipolis
Eion
Aenea
Stagirus
Methone
Pydna
Acanthus
CHALCIDICE
Spartolus
Olynthus
Singus
Potidæa
Mende
Galepsus
Scione
Torone
Cambunian Mts.
CORCYRA
THESSALY
PHTHIOTIS
PEPARETHUS
LEUCAS
ÆTOLIA
DORIS
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
Chalcis
Eretria
Naupactus
W. LOCRIS
BŒOTIA
Thebes
Œnophyta
CEPHALLENIA
Gulf of Corinth
ACHAIA
ATTICA
Athens
Sicyon
ELIS
Corinth
Argos
ÆGINA
CEOS
ZACYNTHUS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
CYTHNOS
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACONIA
SIPHNOS
MELOS
CYTHERA
ATHENIAN EMPIRE
ITS GREATEST EXTENT
About 450 B. C.
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
M E D I T E
C R E T E
Longit


RACE
BLACK SEA
Artane
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Perinthus
Bisanthe
Propontis
III
Maronea
Ænos
PROCONNESUS
Parium
Cius
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
Sestos
Arisbe
Abydos
Sigeum
TENEDOS
Astyra
Assus
EXPLANATIONS.
Members and Allied States
Dependent and Tributary States
TRIBUTARY DISTRICTS.
I. Island District.
II. Thracian District.
III. Hellespontine District.
IV. Ionian District.
V. Carian District.
LESBOS
Mytilene
Pitane
Myrina
Cyme
Phocæa
Hermus R.
Erythræ
Clazomenæ
CHIOS
IONIA
Teos
IV
Colophon
Ephesus
Mæander R.
SAMOS
Samos
Mycale
ICARIA
Miletus
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Ceramus
COS
CHERSONESUS
Calynda
LYCIA
Cnidus
Phaselis
ASTYPALÆA
V
Ialysus
Xanthus
RHODES
Patara
Camirus
Lindus
CARPATHUS
AEGEAN SEA
L.L.POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
26
28
30
40
36
38
from Greenwich

TRIBUTARY STATES OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

The following table gives a list of the tributary states that paid annually more than one talent,[1] arranged by tributary districts: —

I. **Island District.** — Ægina, Ceos, Cythnos, Siphnos, Paros, Naxos, Tenos, Andros, Carystus and Chalcis in Eubœa, and Hephæstia in Lemnos.

II. **Thracian District.** — Peparethus, Methone, Ænea, Potidæa, Mende, Scione, Spartolus, Olynthus, Galepsus, Torone, Singus, Acanthus, Abdera, Maronea, Ænos, Thasos, Samothrace.

III. **Hellespontine District.** — Perinthus, Selymbria, Byzantium, Chalcedon, Cyzicus, Proconnesus, Lampsacus, Arisbe, Abydos, Tenedos.

IV. **Ionian District.** — Myrina, Cyme, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Colophon, Ephesus, Miletus.

V. **Carian District.** — Halicarnassus, Ceramus, Cnidus, Chersonesus in Caria, Calynda, Phaselis, Cos, Astypalæa; also Camirus, Ialysus, and Lindus in the island of Rhodes.

The following is a list of the above tributary states arranged according to the amount of their annual tribute: **30 talents**, Ægina, Thasos; **16⅕ talents**, Paros; **15 talents**, Abdera, Byzantium; **12 talents**, Lampsacus; **10 talents**, Ænos, Chalcis, Perinthus; **9 talents**, Chalcedon, Cyme, Cyzicus; **7 talents**, Erythræ; **6⅔ talents**, Naxos; **6 talents**, Andros, Ephesus, Ialysus, Camirus, Lindus, Potidæa, Samothrace, Scione, Teos, Torone; **5 talents**, Carystus, Cos, Mende, Miletus, Selymbria; **4 talents**, Abydos, Ceos; **3 talents**, Ænea, Acanthus, Chersonesus in Caria, Hephæstia, Cnidus, Cythnos, Methone, Peparethus, Phaselis, Proconnesus, Siphnos, Tenedos, Tenos; **2 talents**, Arisbe, Olynthus, Phocæa, Singus, Spartolus; **1⅔ talents**, Halicarnassus; **1½ talents**, Astypalæa, Galepsus, Calynda, Ceramus, Clazomenæ, Colophon, Maronea, Myrina. (Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, Ed. 1893, I., 402.)

The whole number of tributary states was as follows: Island District, 41; Thracian District, 68; Hellespontine District, 50; Ionian District, 42; Carian District, 62; undetermined, 4; total, 267. (Cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, Ed. 1886, II., 362–369.)

[1] It is difficult to determine the exact value of the Attic talent in terms of our money; it has been variously estimated at from about 1000 to about 1250 dollars.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Cox, Ch. 8, "Growth of the Athenian Empire" (10).[1]
Timayenis, Vol. I., Part IV., "The Athenian Ascendency" (11).
Oman, Ch. 23, "Building up of the Athenian Empire"; Ch. 24, "Athens at the Height of her Power" (10).
Smith, Ch. 23, "Rise and Growth of the Athenian Empire" (10).
Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 8, "Rise of Athens"; Ch. 9, "Athens a Territorial Power"; Ch. 10, "Athens under Pericles" (10).
Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 2, "Growth and Power of Athens"; Ch. 3, "The Years of Pericles" (11).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 14, "Pericles to the Thirty Years' Truce" (11).
Plutarch, "Cimon," "Pericles" (13).
Aristotle, Athenian Constitution, Chs. 23–27 (Ephialtes and Pericles) (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Confederacy of Delos. — Oman, pp. 241, 242 (10); Smith, Ch. 22, § 6 (10); Cox, Ch. 7 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 8 (11); Bury, Ch. 8, § 2 (10); Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 91–104, 139–151 (10); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 376–385, 430–432 (11); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 17 (11); Greenidge, pp. 189–204 (20); Gilbert, pp. 416–434 (20).

CHAPTER XVII

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION UNDER PERICLES

I. The Political Organization

Character of the Athenian Democracy. — As the civilization of Athens reached its highest development during the age of Pericles, we should review its principal features before we consider the causes which led to its decline. First of all, we may look at the constitution of the state as it existed at this time. We have already seen the gradual tendency of

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Athens toward popular government — in the decline of the monarchy, in the growth of the archonship, in the extension of the franchise by Solon, and in the radical reforms of Clisthenes. And this popular tendency had continued since the time of Clisthenes. Ephialtes had restricted the ancient privileges of the Areopagus; and Pericles had induced the people to take an active part in the exercise of their political duties, by introducing a system of payment for public service.

By the term "democracy," the Athenians understood a state in which all the powers of government are exercised directly by the citizens, and in which all citizens are equal before the law. The Athenian idea of democracy differed from the modern idea chiefly in two ways: first, in that the Athenians had very little notion of the modern idea of representation; and second, in that the number of citizens formed a comparatively small part of the whole population.

Classes of the Population. — We may get an idea of the limited nature of the Athenian democracy by looking at the different classes of persons residing in Attica, which formed the territory of the Athenian city state. These persons comprised the slaves, the resident foreigners or "metics," and the citizens.

1. The slaves of Attica have been estimated at about 100,000 (Gilbert, p. 170). They included captives taken in war and persons imported from the slave markets on the Thracian and Scythian coasts. Their lot was not especially wretched. They were employed in domestic and agricultural labor, and were even allowed to work for themselves on consideration of paying their master a yearly sum. The state sometimes employed slaves as policemen and clerks. The slave, however, had no political or civil rights, although he might be protected from the cruelty of his master, and in grave emergencies might serve in the army and the fleet.

2. The resident foreigners, or "metics," numbered perhaps 10,000. These persons were engaged mostly in trade, and formed a valuable part of the population. But they had no

share in the government. They could not hold land in Attica. They were obliged to pay a yearly tax and sometimes to serve in the army and navy; for example, as shield-bearers or rowers. Every resident foreigner was bound to choose a citizen to represent and protect his interests.

3. The class of citizens formed the rest of the population of Attica. The early policy of admitting foreigners to citizenship was changed by Pericles, who restricted citizenship to those who were born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother. The whole number of Athenian citizens, including men, women, and children, was at the time of Pericles in the neighborhood of 120,000. Of this population the number of voters is generally estimated as about 30,000. This comparatively small body of persons, scattered through the local districts — that is, the tribes and demes — of Attica, formed the democracy.

The Athenian Assembly, or Ecclesia. — The most important political body in the state was the ecclesia, or general assembly of the people. It consisted of the whole body of male citizens above eighteen years of age. It met forty times each year on the Pnyx — a sloping hill backed by a perpendicular rock, where was located the *bema*, the stone platform upon which the orators stood to address the people. The assembly was the ultimate source of political authority. Here any citizen could speak and vote upon questions properly submitted by the council; but proposals thus submitted could be passed, rejected, or amended by vote of the assembly. Any citizen could propose a measure by first submitting it to the council. But it was a peculiar feature of the constitution that the mover of a resolution was held responsible for the measure which he proposed — a provision painfully illustrated in the case of Miltiades (see page 181). The vote in the assembly was generally taken by a show of hands; although the ballot was used when the welfare of an individual was at stake. The assembly was often brought under the power of some influential man, whose character and oratorical ability enabled him to sway the multitude and to become the "leader of the people," or, as Aris-

THE BEMA ON THE PNYX

toph'anes puts it, "the master of the stone on the Pnyx." And so Thucyd'ides describes Athens at the time of Pericles as "a democracy ruled by its ablest citizen."

The Athenian Council, or Boule. — Since the decline of the Areopagus, the most important political body after the assembly was the Council of Five Hundred. This consisted of fifty members, at least thirty years of age, chosen annually by lot from each of the ten local tribes. In other words, the council was composed of ten sections, each one being made up of fifty members from a single tribe. The business of the council was to preside over the affairs of the state. But for convenience, each tribal section of fifty was authorized to preside in turn during a tenth part of the year, the order of their turns being decided by lot. The members of the presiding section were called *pryt'anes ;* the period for which they served, the *pryt'any ;* and the public building in which they lived, the *Prytane'um.* The presiding section chose each day by lot one of their number as president, who was chairman, not only of the council, but also

of the assembly. The council exercised the highest administrative and executive powers in the state. It prepared the measures to be submitted to the assembly. It could itself pass ordinances, provided they did not conflict with the existing laws. It had charge of the public buildings, festivals, and religious ceremonies. It had control of the public finances. It saw that the laws of the state were carried into execution; and in certain exceptional cases it exercised judicial functions.

The Athenian Magistrates; the Generals. — As the decline of the Areopagus was followed by the growing importance of the council, so the decline of the archonship was attended by the growth of the "generalship" as an executive office. The ten strategi, or generals, came to be the most important magistrates in the government. They were at first probably elected one from each tribe; but afterward they were all elected by the whole assembly without regard to tribes. On account of the fact that they required a special kind of ability, they were elected, not by lot, but by the vote of the citizens. The first duty of the generals was to command the army, but to this were added other functions. They had charge of the means for defending the state — the maintenance of the fortifications, the army, and the navy. They also had charge of foreign affairs, the negotiation of treaties, and the receiving of ambassadors. They furthermore had the power to call extra sessions of the assembly, if in their judgment the public interests required it.

Besides the generals there were a large number of subordinate magistrates, civil and military, that need not be named here.[1]

The Athenian Courts; the Dicasteries. — One of the most peculiar features of the Athenian constitution was the organization of the courts. The old council of the Areopagus retained a certain jurisdiction over some grave offenses, like murder and arson. But the great majority of judicial cases were tried by jurors drawn from the body of citizens, and from

[1] For the Athenian magistrates, see Gilbert, Constitutional Antiquities, pp. 214–265.

these courts there was no appeal. The whole jury list (*heliœa*) was made up of six thousand citizens, at least thirty years of age, who each year voluntarily presented themselves before the archon and took an oath to perform their duties faithfully. This whole judicial body was divided into ten sections, or dicasteries of five hundred members each — leaving a thousand supernumeraries who could be drawn upon when necessary. The jurors serving on a single case were drawn from these sections, and might number two hundred or more for a single case. From the time of Pericles the jurors received a small pay for their services. The business of the courts was prepared by the three senior archons; while the six junior archons (*thesmothetœ*) formed a sort of board of revision by which the harmony of the laws was preserved. The popular character of the Athenian courts shows the extreme democratic principles which controlled the state, since an opportunity was given to every citizen at some time to share in the administration of justice.

Political Parties at Athens. — The growth of the Athenian democracy, like that of every popular government, was marked by the development of parties and of factional strife. We have already seen, from very early times, political divisions between different portions of the people, — for example, the Eupatrids and the common people; and the men of the Hill, the Plain, and the Shore. But from the time of Clisthenes, there had come to be two quite well-defined political parties, the democratic and the oligarchical. The democratic party was in favor of the new constitution, with the popular changes brought about by Clisthenes, Ephialtes, and Pericles; it was eminently the patriotic party of Athens, opposed to foreign influences, whether Spartan or Persian. The oligarchical party, on the other hand, was opposed to the constitution, which had deprived its members of their old exclusive privileges; it was in sympathy with the aristocratic ideas of Sparta, and did not hesitate sometimes to take the part of Persia. Between these two extreme parties, there was what may be called a moderate

party, less defined than the others, which did not oppose the democratic constitution so much as it did the policy of the democratic leaders. The strife between these parties was allayed for a time by the overpowering influence of Pericles, only to break out again, as we shall see, during and after the Peloponnesian war.

II. The Military Organization

Composition of the Army. — The defense of the Athenian state against its foreign enemies required an efficient military organization. The army, like the government, was based upon democratic principles. Every young man at the age of eighteen was enrolled, and took his oath of allegiance as a citizen and a soldier. For two years he was engaged in military training — when it was not customary for him to attend the assembly. From twenty to fifty, he was liable to be called upon to serve in the field, wherever and whenever the state required it. After fifty until sixty, he was called upon to serve only in Attica and for the defense of Athens. The army when called into the field consisted of the heavy-armed, the light-armed, and the cavalry. The heavy-armed troops, or hoplites, which formed the main body of the army, were drawn from the three upper census classes (see page 127), and were armed with the shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, sword, and spear. The light-armed troops were drawn from the fourth or lowest class, and did not have the complete defensive armor of the hoplites, and sometimes fought with bows and arrows. The cavalry consisted of the wealthier citizens who could furnish a horse; but this branch

Greek Hoplite

of the service, though highly respected, was never very efficient in Greece, on account of the mountainous character of the country. The Greeks sometimes used war chariots, but not to the same extent as the Eastern nations.

The Greek Phalanx. — When a levy was to be made for a military expedition, the ten local tribes would be called upon to furnish their respective quotas. The men thus called into the field would be organized into "phalanxes." The phalanx was a military body quite peculiar to the Greeks. It consisted of from two thousand to four thousand men, drawn up in a solid body, eight ranks deep, under its own commander. It was organized into a number of divisions and subdivisions, each under its own officers. The phalanx was the basis of all tactics, or military evolutions. It was usually arranged in the form of a rectangle — sometimes, however, in the form of a crescent, and sometimes in the form of a wedge. The Greeks possessed great skill in maneuvering — in wheeling to the right, to the left, and to the rear, and in changing from the order of march to the order of battle. The Greek phalanx was afterward used by the Macedonians, and was the most effective of ancient military organizations before the time of the Romans.

The Athenian Fleet. — As Athens was preëminently a sea power, her main strength lay in her fleet. At the time of Pericles the fleet consisted of three hundred vessels, always ready for the sea, and about one hundred select ships held in reserve to defend the Piræus. The war vessel of this period was a ship of three banks of oars, called the trireme. Each vessel was commanded by a trierarch, and carried about two hundred men. Besides the officers there were ten heavy-armed marines, sixty-two men who worked the uppermost bank of oars, fifty-four the middle bank, and fifty-four the lowest bank. The success of the naval battle depended largely upon the skill of the oarsmen; the effort was made to run down and disable the opposing vessels rather than to board them. In the exceptional case of boarding, the marines were called into action. By its efficient organization the Athenian navy in the

time of Pericles commanded the eastern Mediterranean and was the great bulwark of the empire.

III. The Financial System

The Athenian Money. — To manage the revenues and expenditures of the state, as well as to facilitate the trade between the people, it was necessary to adopt some kind of financial system. And this system in turn required some kind of money by which values could be measured. The Athenian money consisted chiefly of silver — although gold and copper were used to some extent. The chief coin was the silver drachma, which contained about sixty-seven grains of silver. The other coins were the obol, one sixth the value of the drachma; the mina, one hundred times more valuable; and the talent, which was sixty times as valuable as the mina. The following table shows the relation of these coins to one another, giving also a rough estimate of their values in terms of our money[1]: —

Attic Drachma

6 obols = 1 drachma (nearly 20 cents).
100 drachmas = 1 mina (nearly 20 dollars).
60 minas = 1 talent (nearly 1200 dollars).

The Expenses of the State. — The administration of the public finances was placed in the hands of the council. Although a regular annual estimate of the public expenses was not made, we may distinguish the following chief items of expenditure: (1) Religion, which included the cost of public sacrifices and

[1] The purchasing power of money was much greater in ancient than in modern times. Boeckh estimates that the annual expenses — including food, clothing, and habitation — of an average family of four persons would amount to about four hundred drachmas (about $80), or that of one person to about one hundred drachmas (about $20). (Public Economy of Athens, p. 109.)

festivals. (2) Civil service, that is, the pay given to the dicasts (one or two obols a day), to the members of the council (about a drachma a day), to the citizens attending the ecclesia (one obol a day, afterward raised to nine obols), and to the public magistrates. (3) Army and navy, which were maintained in times of peace, and which required extraordinary outlays in time of war. (4) Public buildings, which required a specified sum for annual repairs, and extraordinary sums of money for the erection and decoration of new structures. (5) Public bounties, including the *theor'icon* paid to poorer citizens for attending public entertainments, and pensions paid to the orphans of deceased soldiers, to destitute invalids and cripples, and sometimes to poor citizens in the form of gratuitous distribution of grain.

Ordinary Revenues. — The expenses of the state were met by what we may distinguish as ordinary and extraordinary revenues. The ordinary revenues were derived chiefly from the following sources: (1) The tribute, which was raised from the members of the confederacy, and which varied in total amount from 460 talents, the earliest assessment, to 1200 talents, the assessment during the early years of the Peloponnesian War. (2) Rent from state property, especially from the silver mines of Laurium. (3) Duties on goods exported and imported at the Piræus. (4) Taxes laid upon goods sold in the market, and also upon every resident foreigner for the protection given him by the state.

Extraordinary Revenues. — There were also certain extraordinary sources of revenue, which may be arranged as follows: (1) Voluntary contributions, which were invited by a decree of the assembly to meet the unusual expenses of war. (2) Income tax, imposed in times of war, and graded according to the wealth of the citizens. (3) Ship money, which was imposed upon certain private individuals, each one of whom was obliged to equip a trireme, with the privilege of commanding it; in later times this obligation might be divided between two or more citizens.

With such a financial system Athens was able to maintain its government, to provide for the common defense, and also to adorn the city so that it became the art center of Greece, and in fact of the world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 11, "Constitutional Development in Athens" (10).[1]
Bury, Ch. 9, § 1, "Completion of the Athenian Democracy" (10).
Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 486–501, "Pericles and the Democracy" (11).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 16, "Athens under Pericles; the Government of the City" (11).
Grote, Part II., Ch. 46, "Constitutional and Judicial Changes under Pericles" (11).
Greenidge, Ch. 6, "Democracy" (20).
Abbott, Pericles, Ch. 16, "The Athens of Pericles; the Government" (27).
Whibley, Political Parties, Ch. 1, "Athenian Constitution and Empire" (20).
Gilbert, pp. 214–310, "Organs of Administration" (20).
Freeman, pp. 107 *et seq.*, "The Athenian Democracy" (12).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Athenian Dicasteries. — Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 134–136 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., pp. 400–404 (11); Holm, Vol. II., p. 198 (11); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 495–498 (11); Greenidge, pp. 174–178 (20); Gilbert, pp. 391–416 (20); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Dicasts" (18); Schömann, Antiquities, pp. 465–493 (20); Aristotle, Ch. 63 (13).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

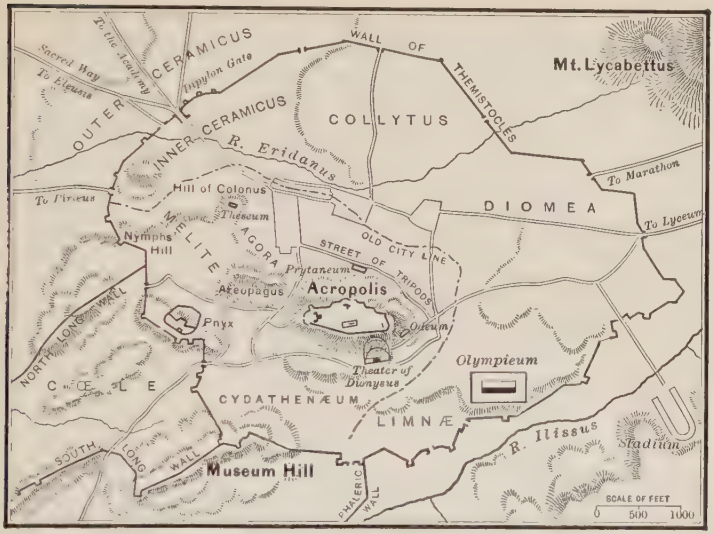
CHAPTER XVIII

ATHENS AND ATHENIAN ART UNDER PERICLES

I. The Topography of Athens

Athens as a Center of Art. — The greatest interest which we have to-day in Athens is due not to the fact that she became the ruler of an empire, or even to the fact that she was the promoter of democratic institutions. As an imperial ruler she was far outstripped by Rome; and her democratic institutions have been greatly improved upon by modern states. But in the domain of art she has been without a peer. Her temples, though in ruins, and her statues, though mutilated, reveal to us a sense of beauty and an æsthetic taste to which we can find no parallel in any other people. And the highest point of this kind of culture was reached by the Athenians during the time and under the influence of Pericles. It is, therefore, to Athens as the center of art that we must look if we would find one of the most important sources of her influence upon the world.

Limits and Divisions of the City. — Before considering some of the principal works of Athenian art, we may glance for a moment at the city itself, which these works were intended to adorn and beautify. With the Acropolis as its center, the limits of the city had been gradually widening from the earliest times. At the time of the Persian wars, the "old line" of the city had been reached. With the building of the new wall of Themistocles, the circumference of the city was enlarged to five or six miles. During the times of Cimon and Pericles the city was still further extended by the erection of the Long Walls so as to take in the Piræus. To make the entire circuit of the city walls at this time would require a

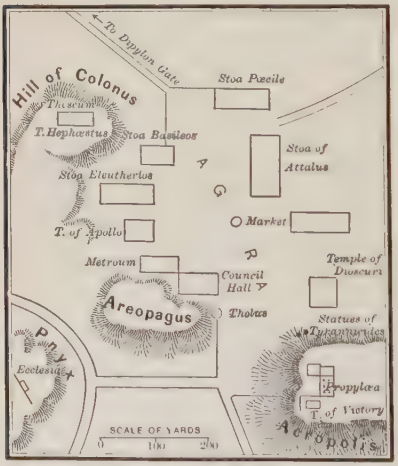


PLAN OF ATHENS, TIME OF PERICLES

journey of perhaps twenty miles. The city of Athens was divided into certain districts or wards, somewhat similar to the demes of the rest of Attica. To the northwest, within the Dip'ylon Gate, the chief entrance to the city, was the section called the Inner Cerami'cus, and thus distinguished from the neighboring outlying district called the Outer Ceramicus. Other districts of the city were Mel'ite to the west, Cydathenæ'um and Limnæ to the south, Diome'a and Col'lytus to the east and north — each marked by its own peculiar topographical features.

The Hills of Athens. — In taking a general view of Athens, the hills first attract our attention. The most important of these is, of course, the Acropolis. This is a pinnacle of solid limestone rock, rising abruptly to the height of two hundred feet, with a length of about a thousand feet. It was in more than one sense the highest part of Athens; it was not only the most elevated spot of land, but it was the seat of the highest

religious and æsthetic life of the city. Passing by, for the present, the buildings of the Acropolis, we notice the next important hill to the west, the Areopagus. This was the place where the celebrated council of the same name held its sessions — the name being derived from the tradition that Ares, who had murdered the son of Poseidon, was tried on this spot. Still farther to the west and south is the Pnyx, the hill upon which the Athenian assembly, or ecclesia, held its meetings (see page 219). To the north of the Areopagus is the hill of Colo'nus, upon which is located the so-called These'um, said to be to-day the best-preserved temple in Greece. This was formerly supposed to have been built by Cimon to receive the bones of Theseus, which were brought from the island of Scyros. But this opinion has been shown to be groundless; it is now thought to have been dedicated either to Heracles or to Hephæstus. These four hills were the most important in Athens, although there were others, like the hill of the Nymphs and the Museum hill, which were inclosed within the city walls.



SKETCH OF THE AGORA

The Agora and its Porticoes. — Closely connected with the hill of Colonus and the Areopagus — adjoining them to the east and extending toward the Acropolis — was the Ag'ora, the great public square, or market place, and the busiest spot in Athens. This was the center of the political and commercial life of the city. The square was shaded by the foliage of plane trees and lined with beautiful buildings — porticoes or porches, inclosed by columns and form-

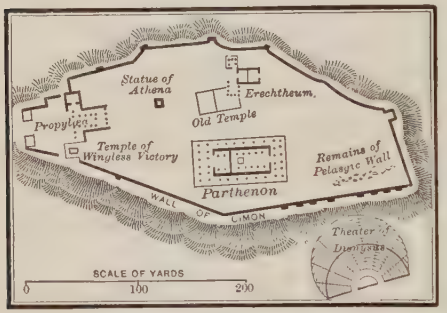
ing a succession of colonnades. Among these buildings were the Painted Porch (*Sto'a Pœc'ile*) adorned with the paintings of Polygno'tus; the Royal Porch (*Stoa Basil'eos*), occupied by the king archon; the porch dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer (*Stoa Eleuthe'rios*); the shrine of the Mother (*Metro'um*), where the laws and archives were kept; and the Council Hall (*Buleute'rium*), where the boule held its meetings. There were many other buildings in the vicinity of the Agora during the time of Pericles, and still others added afterward.[1] Overlooking the Agora, perhaps from the south, stood the statues of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogiton, reminding the people of their deliverance from the oppressive rule of the Pisistratidæ (see pages 197, 198).

Other Buildings of the Lower City. — If we leave the Agora and proceed around the base of the Acropolis on the north, we come to the Prytaneum, the chief center of the official life of Athens. Passing along the Street of the Tripods, to the east of the Acropolis we see the Ode'um, or the Music Hall of Pericles, erected, it is said, in imitation of the tent of Xerxes, and used for musical contests. Farther to the south we may see the great theater of Dionysus, which we shall have occasion to notice again. At some distance from the Acropolis to the southeast, we may see the unfinished remains of the Olympie'um, the great temple dedicated by Pisistratus to the Olympian Zeus, but not completed until centuries afterward by the Roman Emperor Hadrian. The abandonment of this temple immediately after the overthrow of the hated Pisistratidæ shows the influence which the political prejudices of the people often exercised upon the growth of art. We shall see other evidences of the way in which architecture was affected by the conservative and the progressive ideas of the time, when we study the buildings on the Acropolis.

[1] It is impossible to give an accurate restoration of the buildings in the Agora. For attempts in this direction see maps in the following works: Harrison, Monuments of Athens, p. 5; Butler's Story of Athens, p. 313; Gardner, Ancient Athens, opp. p. 538.

II. The Acropolis and its Buildings

The Acropolis before Pericles. — The art of Athens reached its highest perfection in the buildings which crowned the Acropolis. The most important of these were the Par'thenon, the Propylæ'a, and the Erechthe'um. By looking at the circumstances which attended the erection of these buildings, we may obtain a new illustration of the progressive policy of Pericles. Before his time there had already been an ancient temple on the summit of the Acropolis, which was destroyed during the Persian wars. This old temple was built on the fabled spot where the goddess Athena and the god Poseidon had contended for the possession of Athens. Here was the sacred olive tree which Athena had caused to rise from the earth; and here was the salt spring which Poseidon opened by a stroke of his trident. Here, also, rested the honored bones of Erech'theus, the hero king of Athens, whose name was joined to that of Poseidon. Over this spot, therefore, had been erected two shrines, the one to Athena, and the other to Poseidon-Erechtheus. These shrines were covered by a single roof, so that the "old temple" was in fact a double temple. When this temple was destroyed by the Persians, a new one was planned to take its place, not however upon the ruins of the old building, but upon a fresh spot farther to the south. This was also intended, it is believed, to be a double temple like its predecessor, dedicated to the worship of both Athena and Erechtheus. The foundation of this new temple is generally ascribed to Cimon; but it was more likely the work



Plan of the Acropolis

of Themistocles, whose fall caused it to be temporarily abandoned.

Building of the Parthenon. — When Pericles came into power, he desired to carry out the policy of his great predecessor, Themistocles. The conservative party, however, was opposed to erecting a temple, or setting up the ancient olive wood image of Athena, in any other place than upon the old sacred spot. But

West Front of the Parthenon (Restoration)

Pericles, like Themistocles, was not bound to the past; he believed that the gods would be most highly honored by giving them the best that the state could afford. He therefore determined to build a splendid temple on the foundations laid by his predecessor, and to erect within it a new and magnificent statue of Athena. On the advice of the gifted architect Icti'nus, the original plan of the temple was somewhat changed, but its double character was preserved. The eastern part was dedicated to Athena; and in it her new statue was to be erected. The conservative party insisted that the worship of Erechtheus, at least, might remain in the old place. Pericles acceded to their

desire; and so the western part of the new building became, not a shrine to Erechtheus as originally intended, but a second chamber of the goddess, where her robe was woven by Athenian maidens (*parthenoi*). The word Parthenon was originally applied to this chamber; but it was soon extended to the whole building, which was called the temple of Athena Parthenos,[1] or the Virgin Goddess. The building was constructed of Pentelic marble, in the Doric style refined by Attic taste, of the most exquisite proportion and symmetry, and ever since admired by artists and critics as the finest example of classic architecture. (For plan of Parthenon, see page 155.)

Construction of the Propylæa. — The next great architectural work of Pericles was the construction of the Propylæa, the magnificent entrance to the Acropolis. Before this time Cimon, who had built the south wall of the Acropolis, had provided for an entrance; but this seemed to Pericles entirely unworthy of the sacred citadel. With the aid of the architect Mnes'icles, the whole western end of the Acropolis was changed into an immense portico, constructed like the front of a temple with columns and pediment. In the Propylæa we find the Doric and Ionic styles united for the first time, the front and rear parts being supported by Doric columns, and the central passageway by Ionic columns. The whole effect of this great portal was beautiful and imposing.

South of the Propylæa was a little temple dedicated to Athena Ni'ke, popularly called Ni'ke Ap'teros, or the Wingless Victory. This is said to have been built by Cimon to celebrate his victory over the Persians at the river Eurymedon (see page 208). Although it encroached upon the architect's plan of reconstructing the whole front of the Acropolis, it was permitted to remain at the urgent request of its priestly guardians.

The Erechtheum. — The respect which Pericles was willing to pay to the conservative feeling of the time is shown not only

[1] On this subject of the construction of the Parthenon, see Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, Appendix; also Harrison, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, Ch. 5, "Phidias and the Parthenon."

in the preservation of the temple to Nike, but also in the construction of the Erechtheum on the site of the "old temple." There were many who still had a reverence for the sacred spots near this ruined building. Some of these spots were beyond the area of the old building. To bring these places

PORCH OF THE MAIDENS (CARYATIDES)

under a single roof required a unique plan, the most irregular of all the temples of Greece. Notwithstanding its lack of symmetry, the whole structure was one of great beauty and richness of detail. The western end is flanked by two porches, the one facing to the north and supported by Ionic columns, the other facing to the south and supported by uniquely

carved female figures (Caryat'ides) and called the "Porch of the Maidens." This building was probably not completed until after the time of Pericles.

In these buildings — the Parthenon, the Propylæa, and the Erechtheum — the Acropolis not only showed the civilizing policy of Pericles and the artistic skill of Greek architects, but also expressed the highest religious aspirations of the Athenian people. It showed how closely art was joined to religion, and that the city was adorned for the glory of the gods as well as for the honor of the state. (See frontispiece.)

ATHENA PARTHENOS

III. ATHENIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

The Statues of the Acropolis. — The sculpture of Athens, like its architecture, was seen in its perfection on the Acropolis. In the development of this kind of art, we see everywhere the influence of Phid'ias, the most renowned of Greek artists. The works which he did not execute himself were generally made under his direction. We may first notice his three great statues of Athena. (1) The first of these was the bronze colossal statue of Athena Prom'achus, or the Protector, which stood between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, towering so high that the top of the gilded spear could be seen by mariners from the sea. This statue, which is described by ancient authors as grand and imposing, has never been successfully restored. (2) Next was the ivory and gold statue of Athena Parthenos, the Virgin Goddess, which stood in the great hall of the Parthenon. It was about forty-seven feet high including the pedestal. Two

small copies of this statue have been preserved. (3) The third was the bronze statue of the Lemnian Athena — so called because it was a gift from the people of Lemnos. It is described by ancient authors as the most beautiful of the works of Phidias. Although the original has been lost, the figure has been restored by means of marble copies of the head and the body, which have been adjusted to each other.

THE "THREE FATES" FROM THE PARTHENON PEDIMENT

The Parthenon Pediments. — The eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon were filled with two remarkable groups, the former representing the birth of Athena, and the latter the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the soil of Attica. Nothing but fragments of these figures remain; but even in their ruin they have been called "the sublimest creations of Greek art that have escaped annihilation" (Tarbell). They are wonderful reproductions of the human form in action and in repose, and show surpassing skill in the management of drapery.

The Parthenon Frieze. — Scarcely less remarkable were the extensive array of reliefs which decorated the inner frieze surrounding the Parthenon. These represented the Panathenaic procession, which on the birthday of Athena con-

veyed the *peplos*, or robe of the goddess, from the outer Ceramicus through the streets of Athens to her temple on the Acropolis. This frieze contained a vast variety of figures — prancing horses held in check by the steady hand of their riders, elderly men bearing olive branches and preceded by flute players, chariots occupied by armed warriors, beautiful

PART OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

maidens and dignified magistrates, a group of Olympian divinities, and many other subjects. The total length of this frieze was more than five hundred feet, and it was elevated about forty feet from the pavement of the temple. Lord Elgin, by permission of the Turkish government, removed about half of these reliefs, with other sculptures from the Parthenon, to the British Museum, where they are now deposited under the name of the "Elgin Marbles."

Other Specimens of Relief. — The metopes of the outer Parthenon frieze were filled with small groups in high relief, representing many mythological subjects. These were in harmony with the idea of decoration which had been employed in the earlier Doric temples. But there was another interest-

ing form of relief carving existing at this time which we should notice; namely, that placed upon the gravestones in the cemetery outside the Dipylon Gate. Here, even in the presence of death, we may see the same calmness of mind that formed one of the distinguishing features of the highest Athenian art. Upon these marbles we see depicted no violent expressions of grief, but peace mingled with sadness — repose in the midst of sorrow.

Grave Relief

Athenian Painting. — It is impossible for us to form a very clear idea of the progress made in painting during this time; because this art is less durable than that of sculpture. But we know from the works of classic authors that painting had made considerable progress. The colors, however, were still put on in flat tints, without shading. The great painter of this period was Polygnotus. He was born in the island of Thasos, but came to Athens and is said to have been made an Athenian citizen. His most famous works were placed upon temples, stoas, and other public buildings, especially the Painted Porch (Stoa Pœcile) and the Propylæa. His subjects were mostly mythological and historical scenes.

IV. Influence of Athenian Art

Art in Other Parts of Greece. — Although Athens was the highest center of Greek art, there were other cities not far behind her in art culture. This was due both to the direct

influence of Athenian artists, and also to the spirit of rivalry which existed in other places. Phidias assisted in the adornment of the famous temple of Zeus at Olympia. His statue of the Olympian Zeus was regarded by many as his masterpiece and as one of the wonders of the world. The statue represented the father of the gods seated upon a throne, and ruling the world in calm majesty. It was forty feet high and wrought, like the Athena of the Parthenon, in ivory and gold. This sublime work of art has been lost, and not even an adequate copy of it remains, although attempts have been made to reproduce it from the description of ancient writers.

Wounded Amazon
(Style of Polyclitus)

Art in Argos. — Another center of Greek art was Argos, which was the seat of a school which nearly equaled that of Athens. The great master of this school, and hence the chief rival of Phidias, was Polycli'tus. Like Phidias he wrought statues in ivory and gold, and though they lacked the majesty of the great works of Phidias, they were unsurpassed in their artistic beauty. He was especially successful in molding the human form, and in giving to his figures the appearance of natural grace and repose. The Wounded Amazon is often referred to as an example of his style, although it can not be absolutely identified as his work.

Art in Thrace. — The influence of Grecian art may be seen even in the remote city of Mende in Thrace. Here flourished the sculptor Pæo'nius. From the little information we have, we should judge that his works were almost equal to those of the more renowned artists of Athens and Argos. His chief work, which has been found at Olympia, represents a

Winged Victory floating in the air with her drapery blown by the breeze — a figure bold in design and beautiful in execution, and combining in a remarkable degree the qualities of movement and repose.

These examples must suffice to illustrate the great superiority of Greek art in its highest form, as contrasted with the more ancient art of the East, which it superseded. In place of the grotesque, the monstrous, the realistic, and often repulsive figures of the Orient, we here see forms of symmetry, of proportion, and of ideal beauty, which, whether expressed in architecture or in sculpture, have furnished to the world the highest models of taste.

VICTORY OF PÆONIUS (Restored)

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 13, "The Imperial City" (10).[1]
Abbott, Pericles, Ch. 17, "The Athens of Pericles" (27).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 20, "Athens under Pericles" (11).
Mahaffy, Rambles, Ch. 4, "The Acropolis of Athens" (21).
Smith, Ch. 34, "Athens, and Athenian Art during the Period of her Empire" (10).
Bury, Ch. 9, § 6, "The Restoration of the Temples" (10).
Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 592–641, "Athens the Center of Intellectual Life" (11).
Dyer, Ch. 5, "Athens from the Time of Themistocles" (19).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Butler, Chs. 7, 8, "The Golden Age" (19).
Tarbell, Ch. 8, "The Great Age of Greek Sculpture" (19).
Gardner, Handbook, Ch. 3, "The Fifth Century" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Parthenon. — Smith, pp. 394–395 (10); Tarbell, pp. 190–199 (19); Gardner, Ancient Athens, Ch. 7 (19); Butler, pp. 209–223 (19); Harrison and Verrall, § 18 (19); Furtwängler, Appendix, pp. 423–442, 451–468 (19); Stuart and Revett, pp. 47–56 (19).

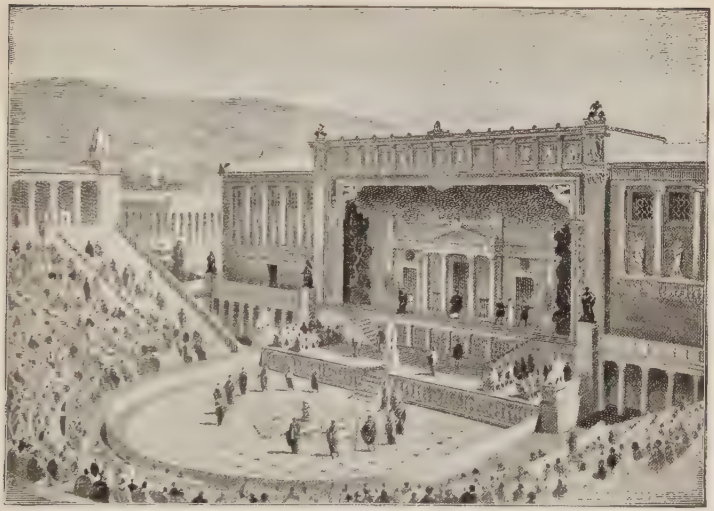
CHAPTER XIX

INTELLECTUAL CULTURE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

I. The Theater as a Means of Culture

The Theater of Dionysus. — The greatness of Athens during the time of Pericles is seen not only in the splendid works of art which adorned the city, but also in the high grade of intellectual culture which distinguished the Athenian people. One of the chief centers of intellectual life was the theater. This was a place not simply for amusement, but for instruction, and for moral and religious inspiration. Athens had but one place where dramatic performances were placed upon the stage — the theater of Dionysus. It was situated on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, and was, it is said, capable of seating thirty thousand people, or the whole voting population of Attica. The performances took place in the open air during the festivals of Dionysus, the wine god, and consisted of tragedies, comedies, satyric dramas, and choral hymns, the most important of these being the works of the great tragedians. We may get a general view of the theater by looking at its different parts — the stage, the orchestra, and the auditorium.

The Stage and the Actors. — The stage was erected in what appeared to be a separate building, presenting an architectural



THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS (Restoration)

front to the audience. It consisted of (1) an elevated platform (*logium*), upon which the actors played their parts, and (2) of a rear wall (*scena*), which furnished the background of the play, representing the locality where the action was supposed to take place. The number of professional actors in a play was limited to three; but this did not limit the number of characters, as the same actor might take more than one part. Typical characters were represented by masks, which covered not only the face, but the head as well. To increase the apparent size of the actor a thick-soled boot (*cothurnus*) was worn. The

MASKS USED IN TRAGEDY

costumes were similar to the ordinary Greek dress, but more elaborate in style and color. The actor was paid by the state, and his profession came to be an honorable one.

The Orchestra and Chorus. — In front of the stage was a semicircular, level area, called the *orchestra*, set apart for the chorus. Its central position suggests to us the time when the chorus was the most important part of the drama; but it had now come to be subordinate to the dialogue. The size of the chorus was now reduced from the original number of fifty to twelve or fifteen. It was composed of men or boys, hired to perform this subordinate part of the play. The words of the chorus were delivered by singing or by recitation, accompanied by dancing and gesticulations, — all of which was intended to interpret the thought and emotions of the play.

The Auditorium and the Audience. — Encircling the orchestra was the auditorium, or the rising tiers of seats occupied by the spectators. The seats were without backs except the reserved front row, set apart for distinguished persons, the most honored seat being that of the priest of Dionysus. The price of admission to the main body of seats was the same to all — two obols for each day's performance. That the poorest citizen might not be excluded, Pericles provided that the admission fee should be paid by the state to any person applying for it. The Athenian audience was lively, intelligent, and discriminating, and has been pronounced to be "superior to any [other] audience of the same size which has ever been brought together" (Haigh).

Seat of the Priest of Dionysus

II. The Drama and the Great Tragedians

The Elevation of the Drama. — There were several causes which tended to elevate the character of the Greek drama at this time. The high artistic taste which was shown in the other arts had a beneficial effect upon the art of dramatic composition. Again, the fact that dramatic performances took the form of contests, in which a number of competitors — usually three — strove for the approval of the audience and for the prizes awarded by official judges, tended to stimulate the efforts of dramatic writers. Moreover, the drama was that form of literature which appealed to the sympathies of the people; and, in the form of tragedy, it responded to their higher moral and religious instincts. Finally, it was encouraged by Pericles himself, who looked upon it as a means of public education and culture.

From Æschylus to Sophocles. — We have already noticed the origin of the Greek tragedy and the heroic character that it acquired in the hands of Æschylus (see page 195). Although Æschylus continued to write during the early part of this period, he yet represented the older spirit born of the Persian wars. The newer spirit was embodied in Sophocles, who at the age of twenty-eight wrested the prize from Æschylus, and from that time expressed the highest dramatic genius of the Greeks. He introduced the third actor upon the stage; and this gave greater freedom and scope to dramatic composition. He also gave less prominence to the chorus, which he used chiefly to accompany the dialogue and to give a moral background to the play. Moreover, he introduced less of the heroic and superhuman element, and brought his characters into closer relation to human life.

The Tragedies of Sophocles. — Sophocles is said to have composed more than a hundred dramas, of which only seven have come down to us. It is impossible to characterize in a few words these great works of literature. They are wonderful delineations of human suffering under the stress of adverse

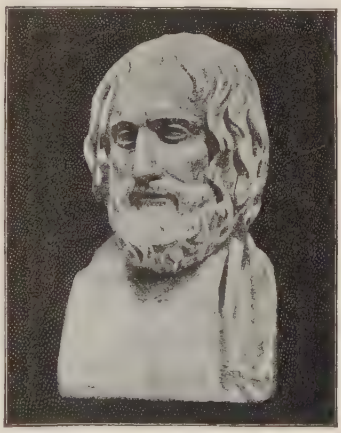
circumstances. In the "Antig'one" we see a pure and noble woman struggling to obey the divine will, against the commands of an earthly power; in the "Elec'tra," a lofty nature bowed down with an overwhelming sense of duty; in the "King Œdipus," the remorse of one who had been led, against his own will, to commit a horrible crime; in the "Œdipus at Colonus," the pitiful suffering of an old man deprived of the blessings of life. The plots of these plays one must study in the works themselves, to understand the poet's view of human life in its relation to that higher destiny which controls all.

SOPHOCLES

Sophocles as a Literary Artist. — In estimating the significance of Sophocles we should look at him not simply as a tragedian but as an artist — as truly an artist as was Phidias or Polyclitus. His works, like theirs, are distinguished by proportion and symmetry, by extraordinary grace and beauty of form. In his dramas, as in the buildings and sculpture of the Acropolis, we see the distinctive features of the best Hellenic taste. It has been well said that the tragedies of Sophocles "exhibit the same union of power

with purity of taste, the same self-restraint, the same instinct for beauty, which can still be admired in the remains of the temple. In the poetry, as in the marble, the Athenian spirit showed the fineness to which it could be tempered by the concurrence of those influences and conditions which the age of Pericles had brought together" (Jebb).

The Works of Euripides. — The last of the great tragedians was Euripides, who composed his earlier plays during the period of Pericles — but continued to write during the following period. He thus represents to a certain degree the changing spirit of the age. While less of an artist than Sophocles, he appealed quite as strongly to the sympathies of the people. Aristotle called him the "most tragic of poets." Eighteen of his plays are still extant; and from these we can judge of his style and method of treating his subjects. In his hands the chorus became less connected with the action of the play, and his characters were brought into closer relation to common life. The ancient legends, which Æschylus had clothed with a sublime pathos, and Sophocles had invested with a dignified charm, Euripides often reduced to the level of ordinary events. The lack of reverence which he showed for the old mythology was due no doubt to the philosophical drift of the times, with which he sympathized more than did his predecessors. This gave to his writings what appeared to many as a taint of skepticism. This undercurrent of Greek philosophical thought, which tended to dilute the old religious beliefs, we can better understand by looking at the opinions of the philosophers themselves.



EURIPIDES

III. The Progress of Philosophy and Education

The New Philosophy; Anaxagoras. — It was not until the time of Pericles that any special encouragement was given to philosophy at Athens. Hitherto, as we have seen, philosophy had been cultivated chiefly in Asia Minor and southern Italy. From this time, however, Athens gradually became the philosophical center of Greece. The first thinker who belonged to what we might call the Athenian school was Anaxag'oras. Although born at Clazomenæ in Asia Minor, he early came to Athens, where he spent the most of his life, and numbered among his friends Pericles and Euripides. His name marks an epoch in the development of the Greek mind; because he seems to have been the first to declare that the world was brought into shape and is governed by a supreme Intelligence. This doctrine was opposed to the old mythology; and as the people were jealous of their ancient beliefs, Anaxagoras was charged with atheism and banished from the city.

The Sophists as Teachers and Philosophers. — At this time there also appeared a class of men called sophists. They were primarily teachers who gave lectures upon science, grammar, rhetoric, and the art of reasoning. They professed to represent the entire culture of the time, and to prepare young men for the practical duties of life. Their pretense of learning was often mistaken for the possession of wisdom; and their training in the art of reasoning often degenerated into mere quibbling, or the attempt "to make the worse appear the better reason." On this account the sophists were sometimes led to overlook the distinction between truth and error. Their philosophical ideas had therefore no firm foundation. To them one opinion seemed as good as another; or to put it in their own words, "Man is the measure of all things."

Athenian Education. — Whatever criticism we may pass upon the philosophical ideas of the sophists, we must not forget the service which they rendered to education. From the

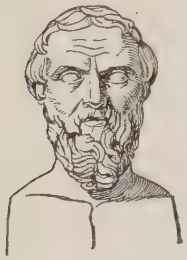
time of Solon, the Greeks had been thoroughly impressed with the importance of training the young, in order to develop the body, the mind, and the emotions. The most elementary education consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Their reading and writing included the committing to memory of the sayings of the wise men and passages from the old poets; these were also copied upon waxed tablets by means of the stylus. Their arithmetical computations were made with the aid of the abacus, or counting board. To this was added music, for the cultivation of the feelings; while gymnastic exercises gave to the youths sound, symmetrical bodies. To this elementary discipline given in the schools and gymnasia was now added a more advanced kind of education given by the sophists, in the form of conversations and lectures. Such instruction was given in the frequented places of Athens — in the streets and in the porches of the Agora, and afterward in the "Academy" and "Lyce'um." It included all branches of practical and theoretical knowledge; and was intended to give what we should call a "liberal education" — to make broad-minded men and enlightened citizens.

A Lesson in the Poets

IV. Beginnings of Prose Literature

The History of Herodotus. — We should not leave this subject without a few words regarding that form of culture which is expressed in prose literature. In Greece, as elsewhere, poetry preceded prose in the order of development. The epic, the elegy, the lyric, the drama, had been cultivated before any noteworthy works in prose were written. Even philosophy was at first written in the form of poetry. The first really

great work of prose literature in the Greek language was the history written by Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus. Herodotus was born during the period of the Persian wars. This great conflict between the Greeks and the Persians was to him the greatest of all events. It became the subject of his history, and furnishes to us our chief knowledge of that struggle. He traveled extensively, and became acquainted with the manners, institutions, and legends of many countries. He came to Athens when the culture of that city was at its height; and he became a close friend of Sophocles and an ardent admirer of Pericles. Under these influences his history became imbued with an Athenian spirit, and acquired the character of an artistic literary composition. Into his work are skillfully woven the narrative of historical events and the description of foreign countries, facts which he himself observed as well as stories and myths told him by others. The critical accuracy of Herodotus has often been questioned; but the charming qualities of his simple, direct, and graphic style have always been admired.



HERODOTUS

The Oratory of Pericles. — Another form of prose literature was beginning to show itself in oratory. This was to a great extent the product of the democratic institutions of Athens. It was also influenced by the professional teachers of rhetoric, who instructed citizens how to plead in the courts and how to address the assembly. The earliest extant orations are those of An'tiphon, who composed speeches as examples of forensic debate. But so far as we know, the greatest orator of the age of Pericles was Pericles himself. His position as leader of the people was due, not only to his character as a man and his ability as a statesman, but also to his power of eloquence, by which he was able to control the Athenian assembly. When we remember that the Athenian state was ruled by the assembly, and that for twenty years the assembly was controlled by the

words of Pericles, we must regard him not simply as "the most accomplished of orators," as Plato calls him, but as an orator who, for effective eloquence, has had few equals in the world's history.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 15, "Literature" (10).[1]
Jebb, Classical Poetry, pp. 157–221, "The Attic Drama" (23).
Gow, § 31, "The Greek Drama" (18).
Butcher, pp. 85–132, Sophocles (12).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 29, "Art and Literature" (11).
Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 546–558, "Intellectual Life at Athens" (11).
Symonds, Ch. 7, "Greek Tragedy and Euripides" (23).
Zeller, pp. 83–88, "Anaxagoras"; pp. 88–101, "The Sophists" (24).
Bury, Ch. 9, § 11, "Higher Education and the Sophists" (10).
Blümner, Ch. 3, "Education" (22).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Greek Theater. — Blümner, Ch. 12 (22); Gow, pp. 259–286 (18); Guhl and Koner, pp. 121–133, 275–281 (22); Becker, pp. 403–412 (22); Grant, pp. 310–316 (16); Haigh, especially Ch. 3 (23); Harper's Class. Dict., "Theatrum" (18); Donaldson, Bk. II. (23).

CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL CULTURE, LIFE AND MANNERS

I. Industrial Life in Athens

Occupations of the People. — From these higher planes of culture we may descend to the more ordinary phases of Athenian life — the social customs and manners of the people. Let us first look at the industrial society. How did the Athenians get their living? Many of them received some compensation by serving the state. The higher officials, it is true, received

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

no reward except the honor which attended the position. But pay was given to the members of the council, to the "dicasts" when serving as jurors, to all citizens attending the assembly, and to those who served in the army and the fleet. But the mass of citizens obtained their living at Athens, as in other communities, by engaging in some agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, or professional pursuit.

Agriculture and Agricultural Products. — From the earliest times agriculture was regarded as an honorable occupation. No one but a free citizen could own land in Attica. Although the land was not very fertile, and was generally worked by slaves, it yielded a fair income to its owner. The soil was adapted not so well to the raising of cereals as to the cultivation of olives, figs, and grapes. With the cutting down of the forests, the land was also used for grazing. On the hills of Attica bees were kept, and the honey of Hymettus was famous. The farmers furnished most of the food required for the people, except grain and some of the luxuries of the epicure, which were obtained from other lands.

Manufactures and Industrial Arts. — Although a certain amount of industry was carried on in the household, — such as spinning, weaving, and embroidery, — there grew up in Athens a great variety of trades in which separate classes of artisans were employed. There were millers and bakers; makers of cloth, fullers and dyers; workers in wood, like furniture, cabinet, and wagon makers; workers in iron, like blacksmiths and makers of arms and armor; artisans in clay, glass, silver, and gold. "In consequence of the flourishing condition of the Attic trades, the articles were sought everywhere, as, for example, the Attic metal and leather wares, lamps, utensils of all kinds, especially of earthenware" (Curtius).

Greek Vase

Commerce and Trade. — Like many other cities of Greece, Athens became an important commercial center, especially after the building of her famous seaport, the Piræus. But as a large part of the commercial business was carried on by resident foreigners, this occupation was not in so high repute as those of the farmer or the manufacturer. The exports were mostly manufactured articles, including oil and wine. The imports included grain from Pontus, Syria, and Egypt, and wood, iron, and copper from Macedonia and Thrace. An important mercantile occupation was that of the banker, whose business was to change, borrow, and lend money, and also to assist people in making investments.

ASCLEPIUS

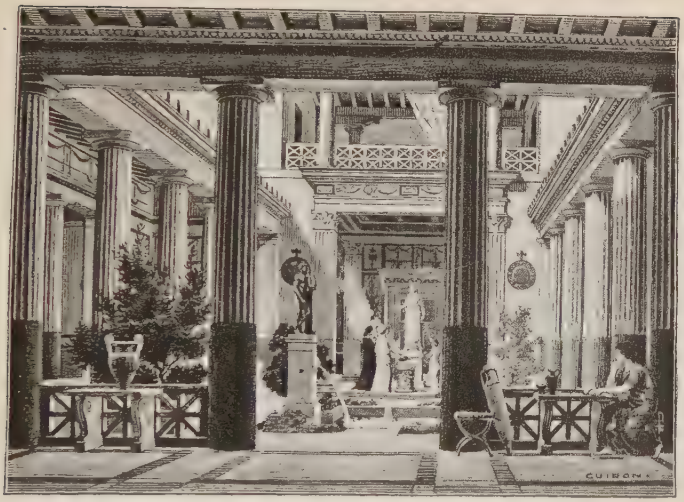
Professional Pursuits. — Certain people gained their living by pursuits which we should call "professional." For example, the physician, who was supposed to derive his knowledge from the god Ascle'pius (Æscula'pius), was held in great esteem; he received fees for his services, and sometimes had a fixed salary paid by the state. Although the ordinary schoolmaster was regarded as hardly better than a servant, the higher teachers, like the sophists, were honored and received considerable pay for their instruction. The common sculptor was looked upon merely as a stonecutter; but there were artists, architects, and painters, like Phidias, Ictinus, and Polygnotus, whose position ranked as a profession, accompanied with honor and large remuneration. A similar difference existed between the lower and the better class of actors and musicians. In the matter of law, every man was expected to plead his own cause; but in the course of time men assumed the part of counselors, to give advice to litigants and to prepare speeches to be delivered by them in the courts of justice, and this became a lucrative profession.

Greek Slavery. — In Athens, as well as in the other parts of Greece, and in fact in all the nations of antiquity, a large part of the industry, especially that of a menial character, was performed by slaves. Generally the slave received no compensation for his work except his support; but occasionally he might be intrusted with a certain amount of money and allowed a percentage on what he made from it, and with his profits he might even purchase his freedom. The worst effect of slavery was to throw a kind of reproach upon almost all forms of manual labor, and thus to degrade the poor class of freemen who were obliged to work for a living.

II. Domestic Life in Athens

The Athenian Home. — After looking at the way in which the Athenian obtained his living, we may look at the way in which he lived, especially at his own home. As he spent a large part of his time at the Agora and other public resorts, we might suppose that his home life would be a matter of minor importance. While this is true to a certain extent, still he was not unmindful of his family. In his own house he was the supreme master, and the law did not interfere with his authority. Absorbed in public life, the Athenian, however, looked upon his home chiefly as the place where he could eat, sleep, offer his daily prayers, entertain his friends, and store his goods; while he left its management almost entirely to the housewife and her retinue of servants.

The House and its Furniture. — The ordinary dwelling house was an unpretentious structure, as compared with the magnificent public buildings on which the Athenians lavished their wealth. As we approach the house we see nothing but a plain wall facing the street, and entered by a single door, upon which is hung a metal knocker. In its plan the house was simply a series of rooms surrounding a court, which was open to the sky. The court itself was usually surrounded by a series of columns, which in the finer houses produced a dignified and artistic



INTERIOR OF A GREEK HOUSE (Restoration)

effect. Sometimes there might be a second court in the rear, surrounded by the women's apartments; and often the house might be constructed with a second story. The roof was flat and covered with clay tiles. The decoration and furniture of the house corresponded, of course, to the wealth of the occupant. The Greeks generally preferred comfort to luxury. But the furnishings, however simple they might be, showed a refined taste. The chairs, stools, and couches were made of ornamental woodwork. The lamps, made of metal or terra-cotta, were especially artistic. In different places around the court we might see bronze or marble statuettes and vases of precious metal and of elegant workmanship.

Dress and Ornaments. — The Greeks also showed their simple taste in their dress, which was in strong contrast to the elaborate and gaudy apparel of the Oriental people. The dress of the men and women was quite similar, although that of the latter was more full and flowing. It consisted usually of two garments; first, a tunic called *chiton,* held in place by clasps

upon the shoulder, and a belt or girdle about the waist; and second, a broad cloak called *hima'tion*, thrown in loose folds about the body. The mode of adjusting the himation often showed the skill and taste of the wearer (see page 246). The feet might or might not be protected by sandals. The elaborate ornaments worn by the Greeks at the time of Homer were discarded by men at the time of Pericles. The Athenian gentleman, dressed in his tunic and cloak, with sandals, a ring upon his finger, and a walking stick in his hand, was fully equipped for the street. The Athenian women still retained a taste for ornaments. They wore a fillet for confining the hair, earrings of various designs, necklaces, and bracelets and anklets. They also carried fans and parasols, either for use or for ornament. The general effect of the simple female costume of the Greeks may be seen in the pictures here given of statues representing different mythological characters.

ATHENA

URANIA

Marriage and the Position of Women. — As the father was the master of the household, he provided for the marriage of his children; and the betrothal was really an engagement made between the parents of the bride and groom. Although marriage was a legal contract, the wedding was a sacred, as well as a festive, ceremony. The parties purified themselves with the water brought from a sacred spring, and the bride's father offered a sacrifice to the gods of marriage. Then followed a banquet, in which the guests partook of the wedding cake. The banquet closed with a libation and

kind wishes for the newly married couple, who were attended to their future home by a procession of friends and attendants, garlanded with flowers and singing the nuptial song to the music of flutes.

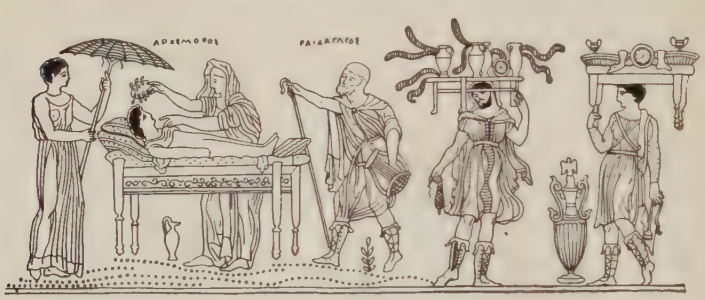
POLYMNIA

The Athenians believed that the proper sphere of woman was the home; and she was hence deprived of the liberty which she enjoyed in Homeric times, and even at this time in Sparta. Her world was the little world of household duties. For this sphere she had been trained by her mother; and she was taught that politics and the turmoil of the street should be left to men. Her employments, — spinning, weaving, embroidery, and the cultivation of her personal charms, — were not of course conducive to a high intellectual culture. The women of Athens are therefore often satirized by certain comic poets and other writers. But we must remember that the Athenians worshiped Athena as the guardian of their city, and venerated their goddesses quite as highly as their gods; that woman was one of the most exalted subjects of the best Athenian art; and that female characters, like the Antigone of Sophocles, are among the most noble in the whole range of Athenian literature. These facts show that the Athenians were not entirely insensible to the attractions of feminine beauty and feminine virtues.

DEMETER

Funeral Ceremonies. — The Athenians had a great respect for the dead. To give a proper burial to one's relatives was one of the most sacred of duties. Even a stranger who found a dead body was required to cover it with earth. The

funeral ceremonies were strictly defined. The body was washed, anointed, clothed, crowned with a chaplet, and laid out in the vestibule. An obolus was placed in the mouth as a fee to Charon, who was supposed to row the departed spirit across the river Styx. Then were brought together and deposited



Laying out of the Dead

near the body vases and other personal effects, to be placed in the grave. Over the bier were uttered loud lamentations. On the third day the funeral procession, made up of the mourning relatives and their friends, attended the body to the spot where it was to be burned or buried. If the corpse was burned, the ashes were collected in an urn. If it was buried, it was placed in a coffin, and above the grave was erected some kind of monument. One of the most important of the burial grounds of Athens was in the Outer Ceramicus beyond the Dipylon Gate.

III. Social Life in Athens

Athenian Sociability. — The Athenians were essentially a sociable people. This is seen in their hospitality, which they possessed in common with all other Greeks, but especially in their love of companionship and of social entertainments, and also in their love of conversation. Of all the Greek peoples the Athenians excelled in the power to talk in an interesting

manner. With their high intellectual tastes, they liked to compare their ideas upon literature and art and philosophy; and with their strong democratic spirit, they cared little for the aristocracy of blood or wealth. The marks of a gentleman were refined manners, a bright intellect, a good education, and, not the least, the capacity to converse in a pleasing manner upon many topics. Their social qualities were thus in harmony with their general intellectual culture.

Society of the Street. — The open air was, in many respects, the home of the Greek gentleman. In the streets he could always find his friends, with whom he was accustomed to pass many hours of the day. The chief center of the social life of Athens — as it was of the political and commercial life — was the Agora. Here under the shade of plane trees, or within the neighboring porches and porticoes, he could find comfort and the companionship of friends. Here he could discuss the policy of Pericles, the art of Phidias, the plays of Sophocles, the ideas of Anaxagoras and the sophists, or engage in talk of a lighter strain. A great deal of the intellectual culture of Athens was thus developed by this kind of social intercourse, which we might call the "society of the street."

The Lyceum and Academy. — The Athenians found other places of resort and social pleasures in the gymnasia, of which we shall notice only the two most famous — the Lyceum and the Academy. They were both situated outside the walls of the city, the Lyceum just to the east, and the Academy about a mile to the north. They were at first simply exercising grounds laid out for the benefit of the young men. But it became customary for the older men to repair to these places, not only to watch the games, but to find a retreat from the bustle of the city. The gymnasia became in time more spacious and elegant in their arrangements, surrounded by colonnades, with adjoining halls furnished with seats for philosophers, rhetoricans, and others who delighted in intellectual conversation. In this way the gymnasia — such as the Lyceum and the Academy — came to be not only places for

exercise and recreation, but centers of intellectual and social life. These places were under strict regulations, based upon the Greek idea that there should be rational moderation and decorum in all things.

Social and Political Clubs. — Another feature of the social life of Athens is seen in the organization of clubs. These grew out of the early custom of forming parties, like picnics, at which each person contributed his portion of the viands. But in time they came to be permanent organizations of persons, made up generally of young men, who shared in the expense of maintaining the club. The club was organized primarily for social purposes, to cultivate companionship; and one of its features was a stated dinner or banquet given perhaps once a month. But from these social clubs grew up political clubs made up usually of aristocratic young men, devoted to the interest of the oligarchical party; and these came to exercise some influence upon the political life of Athens.

The Banquet and Symposium. — The banquet was not simply a special feature of the social clubs; it was a general feature of Athenian society. As there were no places of public amusement open after sunset, the banquet was the chief form of entertainment for the evening. It was generally a dinner party given by a gentleman at his own house to his friends. It differed from the ordinary dinner in being more elaborate and in being restricted to men, and also in being followed by a "symposium." The character of the symposium varied, of course, with the character and culture of the guests. With the most highly cultivated, it was indeed a "feast of reason and flow of soul," accompanied as it was by refined conversation, dashes of oratory, sparks of wit, relieved by rehearsals from the poets and the music of the flute or lyre. A less cultivated class would be entertained by enigmas and riddles, jests and jokes at the expense of friends, and games of skill or chance. With the most convivial and least cultivated, the symposium might descend to ribaldry, the singing of boisterous songs; and with the exhaustion of their own resources

of entertainment, the guests might be amused by professional dancers, jugglers, and contortionists, who helped to while away the merry hours. The symposium was in the charge of a toastmaster selected by the guests — "king," "leader of the feast," "symposiarch," or whatever he might be called. He presided over the company and directed the various features of the evening, and upon him depended to a great degree the character of the entertainment. The symposium was an expression of the social and intellectual culture of the Greek people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

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Gulick, Ch. 14, "Social Life and Entertainments" (22).
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Felton, Vol. II., Second Course, "Life of Greece" (11).
Mahaffy, Old Greek Life, Ch. 4, "Public Life of the Greek Citizen" (22); Social Life, Chs. 6–8, "Greeks of the Attic Age" (22).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Greek House and Home Life. — Gulick, Ch. 3 (22); Blümner, Ch. 5 (22); Guhl and Koner, § 22 (22); Becker, pp. 251–271 (22); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "House, Greek" (18); Harper's Class. Dict., "Domus" (18).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 8.

PERIOD V. THE FALL OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE (431-359 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.)

I. From the Beginning to the Peace of Nicias (431–421 B.C.)

Causes and Significance of the War. — We have now passed in review the most important facts in Greek history since the close of the Persian invasions — a period marked by the growth of the Athenian empire, and culminating in the brilliant age of Pericles. Since the so-called Thirty Years' Truce (see page 213), Athens had achieved triumphs in peace surpassing the military glory which she had acquired in the wars with Persia. But from this height of prosperity she was destined soon to fall. As we take a certain pride in her prosperity, so the story of her fall has for us a kind of tragic interest.

If we look at some of the methods which Athens used in developing her empire, we must be convinced that her greatness was, to a certain extent, acquired at the expense of others. In building up her empire she had degraded her allies into subjects. In adorning her city she had used the funds which were contributed for the common defense. She was evidently devoted more to her own interests and glory than to the common welfare of Greece. Her imperial policy awakened not only the discontent of her own subjects, but also the jealousy of the Peloponnesian states under the lead of Sparta. All

these things were remote causes which finally led to that long and bitter conflict known as the Peloponnesian war. While an undue importance is sometimes given to this war, there are yet certain reasons why it has for us a peculiar significance: (1) because it is described by one of the world's greatest historians, Thucydides; (2) because it marks the downfall of the Athenian empire; and (3) because it illustrates one of the great defects of the Greek character — the incapacity to form a national state.

Events Leading to the War. — This war was essentially a struggle between Athens and Sparta. The events which led to it, however, did not directly concern Sparta herself, but Corinth, one of the members of the Peloponnesian league. It was Corinth that first became embroiled with Athens. Corinth was incensed because, in a quarrel between herself and her colony Corcyra, Athens had taken the part of Corcyra. On the other hand, Athens was incensed because, in an attempt to put down a revolt in Potidæa, — a colony in Chalcidice originally founded by Corinth, but now a subject ally of Athens — Corinth had taken the part of Potidæa. These facts, of course, produced a bitter feeling between Corinth and Athens. But Corinth was in no condition to cope single-handed with a power like Athens; and so she appealed to Sparta for aid, claiming that Athens had broken the Thirty Years' Truce. Sparta called a meeting of the Peloponnesian states; and it was there decided to declare war against Athens.

Parties to the War. — By this declaration of war Greece became divided into two hostile camps, under the leadership respectively of Sparta and of Athens. Sparta was the head of the Dorian race and of the Peloponnesian league, which was a confederacy consisting largely of inland states; she was also the representative of aristocracy; and she had under her command the best-organized army of Greece. Athens, on the other hand, was the head of the Ionian race, and of the Delian confederacy, which had become an empire of maritime states; she was also the promoter of democratic institutions; and she

had under her control the most powerful navy of Greece. Around these two leading powers were grouped the various states of Hellas. Sparta had on her side all the states of the Peloponnesus, — except Argolis and Achaia, which remained neutral, — and, outside the Peloponnesus, Megaris, Bœotia, East Locris, Phocis, Ambra'cia, Anacto'rium, and the island of Leucas. Athens, on her part, was supported by all the island states of the Ægean, — except Melos and Thera, — together with the coast cities of Asia Minor, Thrace, Chalcidice, and Thessaly (a lukewarm ally), also Acarnania and Naupactus, and the western islands of Corcyra, Zacynthus, and afterward Cephallenia. These various states supported their respective leaders with soldiers, ships, and money.

The War Policy of Pericles; his Death. — If we compare the respective forces of the two leading states, we may see the reason of the war policy adopted by Pericles. The Athenian army could not hope to defeat the superior land forces which Sparta sent to invade Attica; and so the inhabitants of Attica were called upon by Pericles to find a safe refuge within the walls of the city, while the powerful Athenian navy was sent to harass and ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus. In this way the war was conducted during the earlier years — that is, by periodical invasions of Attica by the Spartan army, and by successive attacks upon the Peloponnesian coasts by the Athenian navy.

In the third year of the war Pericles died (429 B.C.), stricken down by a terrible plague which broke out in the overcrowded city. In the death of Pericles Athens lost her greatest statesman, at a time when she needed him most. No one man whom she had ever produced expressed more fully what was best in the Athenian character. "None did so much to make his country great, his city beautiful. Statesman, politician, and diplomat; soldier, general, and admiral; philosopher, artist, and orator; immovable in soul, inflexible in purpose, incorruptible in honor; he was the first and last embodiment of all the qualities which went to make Athens great" (Allcroft).

Progress of the War. — New and less experienced leaders now came forward to guide the affairs of state. The man who aspired to the position of Pericles was Cleon, a coarse leather-dealer, a bold demagogue, and a vociferous orator. Opposed to him was Nicias (*nish'i-as*), a well-bred man, a conservative leader, but overcautious and devoid of energy. During the next four years the progress of the war was marked by four important events — the fall of Platæa, the revolt of Lesbos, the sedition at Corcyra, and the capture of Sphacte'ria.

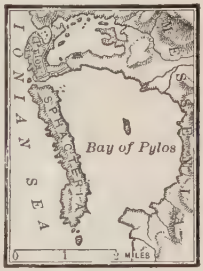
1. Platæa, a city on the borders of Bœotia, was an old and steadfast ally of Athens. Leaving the plague to do its work in Attica, the Spartans invested this city (429 B.C.). No aid came from the distracted city of Athens; and after two years of siege, the Platæans were obliged to surrender, and were mercilessly put to death.

2. During the siege of Platæa, the Athenians were startled with the news that Lesbos, one of their most powerful allies on the Asiatic coast, was in a state of revolt. This revolt was provoked by the oligarchical faction, which was hostile to Athens. A year was required to reduce to submission Mytilene and the other cities of the island (427 B.C.). When the question arose in the Athenian assembly as to what should be done with the insurgents, Cleon demanded that every one of them should be put to death; his stormy eloquence prevailed and a decree was passed to that effect. As the result of wiser counsels, however, the decree was changed the next day, and made to apply only to the leaders of the revolt. But under this more merciful act, over a thousand men, it is said, were put to death, the walls of Mytilene were dismantled, and the lands were allotted to Athenian citizens.

3. Not only the island of Lesbos in the east, but the island of Corcyra in the west, was distracted by the seditious attempts of the oligarchical faction to break the alliance with Athens (427 B.C.). This sedition was attended with the most horrible scenes of bloodshed and crime, and the island was plunged into a reign of terror. Never before had the strife of

parties been so deadly. Sparta sent there a fleet to aid the oligarchs in their revolt against Athens. Athens also sent a fleet to aid the democratic party in putting down the rebellion. Finally, the democratic party triumphed by utterly exterminating the defeated faction; and the alliance with Athens was renewed.

4. Soon after this disgraceful sedition at Corcyra, the Athenians gained a great success by the capture of Pylos and the island of Sphacteria, on the western coast of Messenia. Pylos was a height upon the mainland; it was captured and fortified by the able general Demos'thenes. The Spartans hastened with an army and fleet to dislodge the Athenian force. The fleet was defeated in the bay, and a part of the army was entrapped on the neighboring island of Sphacteria. The Spartans sued for peace; but the voice of Cleon overpowered the Athenian assembly, and the war continued. As Cleon boasted that he could capture the beleaguered Spartans he was given the authority to do so. With the aid of Demosthenes, he reduced the island within twenty days, and returned triumphantly to Athens with three hundred prisoners (425 B.C.). This piece of good fortune made the boasting demagogue the hero of the hour, and gave the Athenians new hope.



SPHACTERIA

Brasidas and the Campaign in Chalcidice (424 B.C.). — Except the capture of Platæa, the Spartans had gained no important victory on land or sea since the beginning of the war, and now the loss of Sphacteria was humiliating. Added to this misfortune, the Athenians soon captured the island of Cythera (424 B.C.), from which they could cut off the Spartan commerce and harass the neighboring coasts of Laconia. But from these discouragements and threatening dangers, Sparta was rescued by the ability of her most able general, Bras'idas. This keen-sighted general saw that the repeated invasions of Attica were useless as long as Athens could draw support from her Ægean

allies. He therefore determined to strike at the sources of Athenian power, and planned the most brilliant campaign of the war — the expedition into Chalcidice. Here were situated some of the most important allies of Athens, in a country rich in resources. With a small force Brasidas marched through Megaris, Bœotia, and Thessaly. While he was far away to the north, the Athenians tried to get possession of Bœotia, but were severely defeated in a battle at De'lium (424 B.C.). On his arrival in Chalcidice, Brasidas appealed to the cities to throw off the yoke of the tyrant Athens. Several towns quickly responded to his call — Acan'thus, Stagi'rus, and Ar'gilus. Amphip'olis soon surrendered, and Brasidas was prevented from taking Ei'on only by the arrival of the Athenian general Thucydides (the historian), who had been lying with a small squadron off the island of Thasos. Turning to the south, Brasidas took possession of the little peninsula of Acte and then the cities of Torone and Mende on the other peninsulas. The Athenians thus lost an important part of their empire, situated on the northern Ægean.

CAMPAIGN IN CHALCIDICE

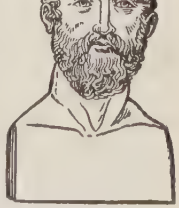
The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Cast down by these disasters Athens obtained a truce for a year (423 B.C.). At its conclusion Cleon still clamored for war, and was himself appointed general. A battle fought at Amphipolis resulted in the defeat of the Athenians, and the death both of Cleon and of the Spartan general Brasidas. The way was thus opened for peace. This was negotiated by Nicias, now the leading man of Athens (421 B.C.). The parties agreed to restore the acquisitions made by each during the war. Sparta was to give up

Amphipolis, and Athens was to give up Pylos and Cythera and the captives taken in war. It was agreed that peace should be maintained for fifty years.

II. From the Peace of Nicias to the Sicilian Disaster (421–413 B.C.)

Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition. — The so-called Peace of Nicias proved to be futile, and was soon followed by new combinations and intrigues between the different states. In this confused state of affairs there appeared at Athens a new leader, a man who was to exercise a remarkable influence during the remaining years of the war. This man was Alcibi'ades, one of the most brilliant and unprincipled characters that Athens ever produced. Fascinating in person, descended from a noble family, related to Pericles, a wayward pupil of Soc'rates, he became a political adventurer, selfish, ambitious, cunning, and unscrupulous. Under his influence the Athenians were now allured into an expedition which proved the most disastrous in their history.

In Sicily lay an important part of the Hellenic world. Here Greek culture had found a genial home. Here Greek politics had run the usual course from tyranny to democracy, which fact seemed to show a sympathy with the Athenian spirit. The chief city of the island was Syracuse, a Dorian colony founded by Corinth, and hence a natural ally of Sparta. The reduction of Syracuse would open the way for a western Athenian empire. This was the dazzling scheme advocated by the new war champion Alcibiades. "It is impossible for us," he said, "to mark out the limits of our dominion, and as our policy compels us to continue the plan of reducing others, let us make this expedition, and thus prostrate the pride of the Peloponnesians by showing that we care not for the present



Alcibiades

peace; and at any rate let us humble the Syracusans, if we do not extend our rule over the whole of Hellas" (Thucydides, VI., 16–18). These words of Alcibiades became the policy of Athens. An immense fleet was prepared and dispatched to Sicily under the command of three generals, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lam'achus (415 B.C.).

Recall and Treachery of Alcibiades. — The fleet sailed for Sicily and began its operations in the vicinity of Syracuse; when orders came from Athens commanding Alcibiades to return to the city to answer the charge of sacrilege. This charge was based upon an act which had occurred before the sailing of the fleet. In one night the numerous busts of Hermes, set up in different parts of the city as a protection from evil, were mutilated — an act of sacrilege which outraged the religious sense of the whole Athenian people. Suspicions had already been cast upon Alcibiades, who was known to be reckless and profane; but before the expedition set sail there had been found no evidence sufficient to warrant his trial. Since then, however, it appeared that Alcibiades had profaned the Eleusinian rites, by engaging with his companions in a mock celebration of the mysteries. The people were not only horrified at these acts of sacrilege and profanation, but believed that they were connected with a plan to overthrow the democracy; thus they were induced to recall Alcibiades from Sicily and to place him upon trial. But Alcibiades, instead of answering the call of his country and facing the charges brought against him, fled to Sparta and became an open enemy of Athens.

The Siege of Syracuse. — The operations against Syracuse were now left to Nicias and Lamachus, who held their forces near the friendly cities of Catana and Naxos (map, page 136). The city of Syracuse was originally built on the little island of Ortyg'ia; but it had now been extended so as to occupy a part of the mainland, called Achradi'na, which was fortified by an old wall. By a clever ruse Nicias succeeded in landing the Athenian force southwest of the city on the shore of what was called the Great Harbor. He there fortified a camp, and won

an important victory over the enemy. At the approach of winter he withdrew his forces to Catana. In the meantime the Syracusans threw up a new and stronger wall in front of the old one to protect the city, and sent to Corinth and Sparta for help.

In the spring, Nicias landed his entire force at Thapsus to the northwest of Syracuse, stormed the heights of Epip'olæ, and took a strong position in front of the Syracusan walls, known as "the Circle." This he fortified with the intention of extending his siege lines on the south to the Great Harbor, and on the north to the Bay of Thapsus. By so doing he would cut off Syracuse from all communications by land. The Syracusans tried to prevent the extension of the siege wall to the south by throwing up two cross walls. But these were stormed in succession; and although Lamachus was killed, the Athenian siege wall was extended to the Great Harbor. Here had been collected in the meantime the Athenian fleet. Nicias, thinking that his cause was the same as won, failed to follow up his success by extending his northern siege wall to the Bay of Thapsus.

SYRACUSE AND VICINITY

a, Athenian camp; *b*, *c*, first two cross walls, which the Syracusans lost; *d*, third cross wall, which the Syracusans held

Sparta sends Aid to Syracuse. — The war, up to this time, seemed to be a succession of Athenian victories. Nicias had, with the aid of his able colleague, Lamachus, inflicted many defeats upon the enemy, and had practically put Syracuse in a state of siege. But from this time all was changed; and this change was due largely to the influence of Alcibiades.

While the Spartans were hesitating as to whether they should send aid to Syracuse, they were spurred on by the words of the Athenian traitor. He assured them that he had no love for Athens or its democratic institutions; that Athens desired to conquer not only Sicily but the Peloponnesus; that two lines of policy should be pursued by Sparta: (1) to send strong reënforcements to Syracuse, and (2) to seize and fortify Decele'a in Attica, and thus threaten Athens at her very walls. The Spartans followed the advice of Alcibiades. They seized Decelea, from which they wasted the fields of Attica; and they sent their ablest living general, Gylip'pus, to the aid of Syracuse. Upon his arrival Gylippus seized the heights of Epipolæ and built a strong cross wall so as to prevent the Athenians from any further operations toward the Bay of Thapsus on the north. He then collected all the vessels possible and shut up the Athenian fleet in the Great Harbor on the south. By these two strategic strokes the Athenians instead of the Syracusans were put in a state of blockade.

Destruction of the Athenian Army. — The rest of this campaign was nothing but a series of Athenian disasters. Athens sent her best living general, Demosthenes, to the aid of Nicias. With a strong armament Demosthenes was able to enter the Great Harbor and reach the Athenian camp. His practiced eye took in the desperate situation. He saw that the heights of Epipolæ must be retaken, and that the Syracusans must be dislodged from their third cross wall, which prevented the extension of the siege lines to the Bay of Thapsus (see map, page 271). Demosthenes made the attempt to do this; but his army was severely defeated by Gylippus. Nothing was now left except to abandon the expedition; but the mouth of the harbor was held by the Syracusans with a fleet reënforced from Corinth. The attempt to escape from the harbor brought on a series of naval battles in which the Athenian fleet was practically destroyed. The attempt of the army to retreat by an overland march to Catana was also foiled. Most of the soldiers were captured, and

Demosthenes and Nicias were condemned to death. "Thus ended," says Thucydides, "the greatest undertaking of this war, and I think the greatest in which the Greeks were ever concerned, the most splendid for the conquerors, and the most disastrous for the conquered; for they suffered no common defeat, but were absolutely annihilated, — army, fleet, and all, — and of many thousands who went away, only a handful ever saw their homes again" (Thucydides, VII., 87).

III. From the Sicilian Disaster to the Fall of Athens (413–404 B.C.)

Last Phase of the War. — The terrible disaster at Syracuse was the prelude to the fall of Athens. Her final ruin was now only a question of time. But this last phase of the war presents to us a number of striking features. It shows us, as we have not seen before, — except perhaps in the Persian wars, — the great fortitude and reserve strength of the Athenians. It also shows us the real weakness of the Athenian empire, by the general disposition of her allies to revolt from her as soon as her power was crippled. We shall also see, as a result of the revolt of her allies, the war transferred from the west to the coasts of Asia Minor. Still further, the transference of the war to Asia leads to the interference of Persia once more in Grecian affairs. And during this whole period we can not lose sight of the intrigues of that accomplished traitor, Alcibiades.

The Intrigues of Alcibiades. — So far the schemes of Alcibiades had been successful. Although the author of the Sicilian expedition, he was glad to see it fail. He also had the satisfaction of seeing Sparta maintain her garrison at Decelea, which was a continual thorn in the side of Athens. He now continued his intrigues against his native city by inducing Sparta to send a fleet to stir up a revolt among the Athenian allies on the Asiatic coast. In spite of these efforts, the Athenians were able to keep hold of the island of Samos as a

base of operations, and succeeded in reducing many of the revolted cities. The Spartans began to suspect the loyalty of Alcibiades; and, fearing for his life, he now turned traitor to Sparta and took up his residence with Tissapher'nes, the Persian satrap at Sardis. Here he began a new set of intrigues, apparently against both Sparta and Athens, but really to advance his own interests. He assured Tissaphernes that Persia would be the gainer by not taking sides with either party, but by letting them wear each other out. The Persian authority might then be established over all the Greek cities. For a time this adroit scheme seemed to work to his satisfaction; but when he began to see that his influence was waning with the Persian satrap, he entered upon his most audacious line of diplomacy. This was nothing less than to bring about his own restoration to power at Athens. The Athenian assembly had already condemned him to death; and hence a political revolution at Athens would be necessary for him to accomplish his purpose.

The "Four Hundred" at Athens. — Before attempting to stir up a revolution at Athens, Alcibiades began his new scheme by winning over to his side some of the generals of the fleet at Samos. He argued that Athens was doomed unless she could obtain the aid of Persia; that Persia was opposed to a democratic government; but that he could obtain a friendly treaty with Persia, provided an oligarchy was set up at Athens in place of the present democracy. Those generals who were already well disposed toward oligarchy, accepted his view, and Pisan'der was dispatched to Athens to bring about the desired revolution. With the aid of the oligarchical party, the constitution was changed. All power was now placed in the hands of a Council of Four Hundred, with the right to consult, if they wished, with a body of five thousand selected citizens. The new council began its work by the attempt to effect a treaty of peace with Sparta; but this attempt proved a failure.

Restoration and Disgrace of Alcibiades. — While this revolution was going on in Athens, the great body of the Athenian

army and fleet at Samos declared itself against the revolution, and claimed to be the only legitimate government of Athens. Not, perhaps, fully aware of his intrigues, and trusting that he might have some influence with Persia, the soldiers elected Alcibiades as one of their generals. In this position Alcibiades assumed the part of a patriot and showed his most remarkable abilities, which were devoted unreservedly to the success of the Athenian cause. The Spartans and their allies were now operating in the Hellespont. Here the Athenians obtained a number of victories, and under Alcibiades destroyed the entire Peloponnesian fleet near Cyzicus. The patriotic traitor also captured Chalcedon and Byzantium on the Bosphorus, and the Athenian commerce was opened once more to the Euxine.

Flushed with these victories, Alcibiades returned to Athens, where the government of the Four Hundred had, in the meantime, been overthrown, and the democracy reëstablished. The Athenians received him with open arms; and the decree against him was annulled. To show the Athenians his piety and his courage, Alcibiades engaged in the Eleusinian mysteries. The procession had been obliged for the past seven years to go to Eleusis by sea; but Alcibiades now conducted it by the usual "sacred way" in the face of the Spartan garrison at Decelea. He was then appointed sole general of the Athenian fleet, with power to conduct the war on the Asiatic coast. But on an unfortunate day, while he was temporarily absent, his fleet suffered a defeat at the hands of the Spartan admiral, Lysan'der. For this failure the Athenians deposed him from his command, and he retired in disgrace to his own castle on the Hellespont.

The Last Battles of the War. — It required two more battles to finish the war. One of these was fought (406 B.C.) near the small islands of Arginu'sæ, between Lesbos and the mainland, where the Athenians gained a victory. But this victory proved a disgrace to Athens; since she condemned to death the generals who had won it, on the ground that they failed to rescue their shipwrecked comrades — a thing which, under the circumstances, was doubtless impossible. The last battle was

fought (405 B.C.) in the Hellespont near the mouth of a little river called Ægospot'ami ("Goat's Streams"). A new Spartan fleet had been built with the aid of Persian gold, furnished by the younger Cyrus, the new Persian governor in Asia Minor. With this new armament Lysander captured the entire Athenian fleet, and this event destroyed the maritime power of Athens. Lysander followed up his victory by reducing the cities on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. The allies fell away, and nothing was now left for Sparta but to reduce the city of Athens itself.

The Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). — In a short time Lysander sailed into the Saronic Gulf and blockaded the Piræus; and the Spartan army came down from Decelea and encamped before the walls of the city. Without money, ships, allies, or food supply, Athens refused to surrender. It was only famine and starvation that brought the city to terms. Corinth and Thebes demanded that the city be totally destroyed. But Sparta refused to destroy a city that had done so much for Greece in the past. Athens was, however, required to destroy the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus, and to become a subject ally of Sparta. Accepting these conditions, Athens opened her gates to the enemy, and the Athenian empire was no more.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, which had lasted for twenty-seven years, which had desolated nearly every part of the Greek world, and which, in spite of the courage displayed, had revealed some of the weakest and worst phases of the Greek character — political jealousy, local self-interest, deceit, and cruelty.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 25, "Causes of the Peloponnesian War" (10).[1]
Timayenis, Part V., Ch. 1, "Commencement of Hostilities" (11).
Bury, Ch. 11, "Decline and Downfall of the Athenian Empire" (10).
Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 6, "Brasidas and Cleon" (10).
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 21, "Corcyra, Potidæa, and Platæa" (11).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Curtius, Vol. III., Ch. 5, "The Decelean War" (11).
Plutarch, "Alcibiades," "Lysander," "Nicias" (13).
Thucydides, Bk. II., Ch. 35–46, Funeral Oration of Pericles (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Sicilian Expedition. — Oman, Ch. 32 (10); Timayenis, Vol. I., pp. 352–359 (11); Cox, Gen. Hist., Bk. II., Ch. 7 (10); Cox, Athenian Empire, Ch. 5 (10); Bury, Ch. 11, §§ 3–5 (10); Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 8 (10); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 27 (11); Curtius, Vol. III., pp. 340–413 (11).

CHAPTER XXII

THE LATER STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

I. The Supremacy of Sparta

The New Spartan Empire. — The political history of Greece immediately after the fall of Athens is a period of renewed agitation, jealousy, and strife, and illustrates still further the incapacity of the Greeks to form a national state. With too great a passion for local liberty, they were unwilling to make concessions for the general good. When one city gained the supremacy, it used its power for its own interests rather than for the common welfare. Sparta now succeeded for a time to the empire which Athens was compelled to give up. The imperial and despotic policy adopted by Sparta was determined largely by the influence of Lysander, who on account of his recent victories was now the leading man in the Spartan state. As Sparta was the patron of oligarchy, she compelled the cities to give up their democratic governments. A military governor, called a "harmost," was placed over most of them; and whatever civil authority there was to be exercised, was placed in a board of ten persons, called a "decarchy." Under such a government the property and lives of the people could not be safe.

In Athens there was established a board of thirty oligarchs — who have received the name of the "Thirty Tyrants" (404–403 B.C.). Under their leader, Crit'ias, their rule was harsh and oppressive and resulted in anarchy and a reign of terror. Citizens were put to death, and property was confiscated without mercy. It was only by a popular revolution led by the patriot Thrasybu'lus that the Thirty were deposed and a democratic form of government reëstablished. This was sufficient to show that the imperial rule of Sparta could not continue without opposition.

Persia and the "March of the Ten Thousand" (401–400 B.C.). — While Sparta was trying to establish her authority over the cities in Greece and Asia Minor, an event occurred which resulted in bringing her into conflict with Persia. This event was the expedition made by Cyrus the Younger, the Persian governor of Asia Minor, who had espoused the cause of Sparta in the Peloponnesian war. In order to place himself on the Persian throne in place of his brother, Artaxerx'es, Cyrus enlisted in his service about ten or twelve thousand Asiatic Greeks, besides a large number of native troops. With these he pushed his way through Phrygia, Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia toward the Persian capital at Susa. He met his brother, Artaxerxes, near Babylon and fought a battle at Cunax'a, in which the Greek forces defeated the great army of the king. But here Cyrus was killed, and the other leaders were entrapped and put to death. The Greeks chose new leaders, chief among whom was Xen'ophon. They then began their long and wearisome march homeward through a hostile country. They moved up the banks of the Tigris River, harassed by the army of Tissaphernes, through the snows of Armenia, suffering from cold and hunger, and finally reached the shores of the Euxine at Trapezus, where they raised the joyful shout, "The sea, the sea!" Hence they continued their retreat, partly by water and partly by land, until they reached the friendly city of Chalcedon and finally the shores of the Ægean Sea. This famous "March of the

rest of his army was pushed forward to complete the victory. The battle of Leuctra had two important effects: first, it introduced a new feature into ancient warfare, which was afterward employed by the Macedonians; secondly, it insured for the time being the ascendency of Thebes.

Extension of the Theban Power. — The power of Thebes was now supreme in central Greece. To extend her influence into Peloponnesus, Epaminondas invaded this territory, and delivered the people from Spartan control. In Arcadia, he helped the city of Mantinea to rebuild its prostrate walls, and gathered the Arcadian towns into an independent union, with the new city of Megalop'olis as their capital. In Messenia he rescued the population from their long serfdom, and built for them a new city, Messe'ne, on the slopes of Mt. Itho'me. Sparta, fearing for her safety, appealed to Athens for assistance. Athens accordingly sent an army into the Peloponnesus to prevent the further encroachment of Thebes.

While Thebes was thus extending her power to the south under Epaminondas, she was also extending her power to the north under Pelopidas. She brought Thessaly under her authority, and even established influential relations with Macedonia. It was not long before troubles arose again in the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas again invaded the country and met the Spartans at Mantinea (362 B.C.), where he gained a victory over the Spartans and their allies; but at this battle Epaminondas was killed. As the Thebans, without their leader, were unable to follow up their victory, peace was established. With the decline of the Theban power, Athens was once more regarded as the leading city of Greece.

Failure of the Grecian State System. — The supremacy of Thebes had failed to create a national state for Greece, just as the supremacy of Sparta and that of Athens had failed before. The Greeks had, it is true, been able to develop a city state with local self-government, far in advance of the Oriental system of government. But they did not possess the capacity to organize their cities into a single state, based upon their com-

mon nationality. Their various leagues failed, because under the predominance of one city the rights of the others were disregarded. With all their love of liberty springing from their own self-interest, they failed to recognize that other essential principle of good government, the love of a higher law based upon the common welfare.

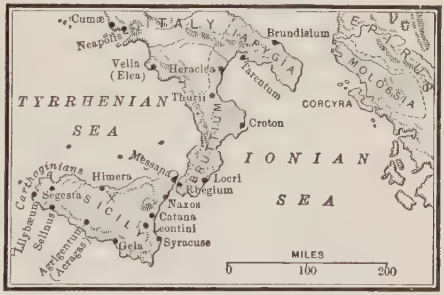
III. The Supremacy of Syracuse in Sicily

Parallel History of Sicily and Greece. — In tracing the general course of Greek history, we have seen the growth of a number of city states, which were agitated by political revolution, and in which tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy were contending for mastery. We have also seen Greece, under the leadership of Athens, delivered from the invasion of Persia, and developing a high form of culture. We have, moreover, seen a tendency on the part of some one city to lift itself into a position of supremacy over the others. There is a general similarity between these movements in Greece proper and those in western Hellas. In Sicily we see a similar movement in the development of a large number of cities disturbed by political revolution; a similar conflict against a foreign enemy; a similar development of a high intellectual culture; and a similar tendency toward supremacy on the part of one city. But the predominant city in Sicily was not Athens or Sparta or Thebes, but Syracuse; and the foreign enemy of Sicily was not Persia, but Carthage.

The Growth of Syracuse. — From very early times the Carthaginians desired to get control of the island of Sicily; and their invasions had been repelled under the leadership of Syracuse. One of their most important attempts to conquer the Sicilians was made at the time of the Persian invasions of Greece, and was ended by their decisive defeat at Himera (p. 192). Being relieved for a time from these foreign enemies, the Sicilian cities pursued their steady course of culture and their varied course of political revolution. The Sicilian expedition,

which proved so disastrous to Athens, gave a new impulse to the ambition of Syracuse, and under various governors we see her occupying a leading position in Sicily, and even in Magna Græcia.

Dionysius the Elder, and the Younger. — A few years after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Syracuse, the Carthaginians made a new and more vigorous attempt to subdue the island. They captured the cities of Selinus, Himera (409 B.C.), and Agrigentum (406 B.C.). In their extremity the Syracusans chose Dionys'ius the Elder as their leader in war, and from this position he became a tyrant. He was a man of varied virtues and vices, of unusual clemency to a vanquished foe, and of unwonted cruelty to his own subjects. His great achievement was the driving back of the Carthaginians to the western extremity of the island, and the defense of Syracuse by an enlarged fortification, which took in the heights of Epipolæ (see map, page 271). He also brought under his control many of the cities of Sicily, and aspired to found a Syracusan empire. He entered Italy as a tribe of northern barbarians (the Sabellians) were engaged in reducing the cities of the southern peninsula. Many of these cities in Bruttium he subdued and plundered, and others in Iapygia he made dependent upon him; and even the kingdom of Molos'sia, across the Ionian Sea, he brought under his influence. He adorned Syracuse with splendid buildings and works of art, and made it the home of noted men; so that it vied with Athens as the most cultivated city of the Greek world. He was succeeded by his son, Dionysius the Younger, who had none of the remarkable



DOMINIONS OF DIONYSIUS, 379 B.C.

abilities of his father. Under his rule, the city rapidly fell into discord and anarchy, from which it was rescued by Timo'leon.

Timoleon the Liberator. — Suffering under the weak rule of the Younger Dionysius and threatened again by the Carthaginians, Syracuse appealed to the mother city of Corinth for help. Corinth fitted out a small expedition, and appointed Timoleon, one of her citizens, as its leader. This commander took possession of the citadel of Syracuse. Then advancing against the Carthaginians, he defeated them in a decisive battle. There were other cities of Sicily which were ruled by tyrants. These tyrants he expelled, and in these cities, as in Syracuse, he erected democratic governments. With the expulsion of the Syracusan tyrants, the cities of Magna Græcia also recovered their independence. Thus Timoleon became the true liberator of western Hellas. When he had accomplished his great mission, he laid down his power and retired to private life. Sicily remained a flourishing seat of Grecian culture, but in its political life the island soon relapsed into the disturbed condition which marked the rest of the Greek world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Timayenis, Vol. I., Part VI., "Hegemony of Sparta" (11).[1]
Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 5, "Arrogance of Sparta" (11).
Curtius, Vol. IV., Bk. V., Ch. 1, "Athens under the Thirty" (11).
Sankey, Ch. 9, "Peace of Antalcidas" (16).
Oman, Ch. 36, "Attempts to overthrow the Spartan Hegemony" (10).
Smith, Ch. 40, "The Supremacy of Thebes" (10).
Allcroft, Vol. IV., Ch. 6, "Sicilian Affairs" (10).
Plutarch, "Agesilaus," "Pelopidas," "Timoleon" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The "March of the Ten Thousand." — Smith, Ch. 36 (10); Bury, Ch. 12, § 2, (10); Oman, pp. 417–420 (10); Timayenis, pp. 417–420 (11); Allcroft, Vol. IV., Ch. 2 (10); Holm, Vol. III., pp. 2–6 (11); Curtius, Vol. IV., pp. 185–192 (11); Xenophon, Anabasis (13).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXIII

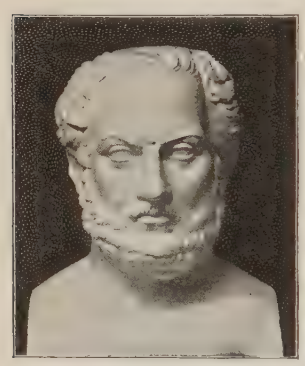
THE NEW PHASE OF GREEK CULTURE

I. Development of Prose Literature

The New Culture of Greece. — From what we have seen of the political agitation and decay that marked the Grecian world after the age of Pericles, we might conclude that the culture of Greece would show similar signs of decay. But this was far from being the case. Nothing shows so clearly the strength and elastic nature of the Grecian mind as the fact that, in the midst of exhausting wars and civil strife, literature and philosophy and art continued to flourish. And it is interesting to know that Athens still retained her intellectual ascendency in Greece. But the culture of Athens now acquired something of a new character. By coming into contact with a variety of states through successive alliances, the Athenians became less narrow and more cosmopolitan. Moreover, the dangers and disasters which afflicted Greece made the thought of the period perhaps less creative and spontaneous, but more reflective and critical. We may see less of the high emotional elements which show themselves in poetry; but we see more of those calmer intellectual qualities which are expressed in prose literature — history, oratory, and philosophy.

The Athenian Historians. — Foremost among the historians of this time are Thucydides and Xenophon; and of the great historians of Greece and perhaps of the world, Thucydides stands preëminent. He may be regarded as the father of scientific history. His subject was the Peloponnesian war — a war in which he had taken a subordinate part. The record which he has left us of this war is perhaps more important to civilization than the war itself. The war marked the fall of

the Athenian empire; the record of the war marked the beginning of a new epoch in literature. The one showed the political incapacity of the Greeks; the other is a lasting evidence of their great intellectual ability. The work of Thucydides is marked by calm judgment, a love of truth, honesty, and accuracy in the statement of facts, and a perception of the relation of cause and effect in historical events. His style, though sometimes obscure, is pure and forcible, and withal "classic,"—which means "the absence of all that is tawdry, the absence even of all that we call florid, a certain severity and reticence, which are as marked in the prose of Thucydides as in the marble of Phidias" (Mahaffy).

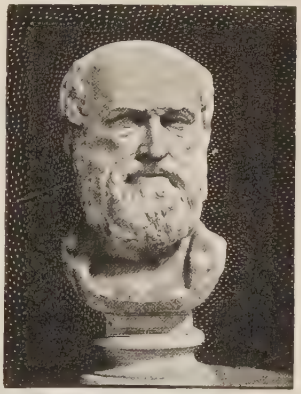


THUCYDIDES

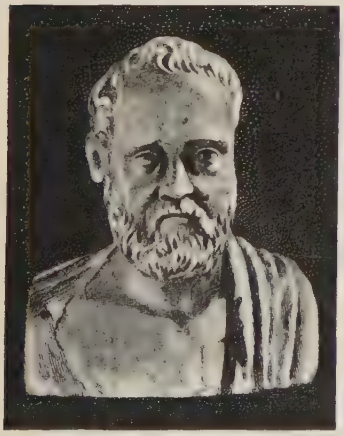
Xenophon is the other important historian of this period. He can scarcely be compared with Thucydides as an historian, but he writes in an easy and interesting manner upon a great variety of subjects. His "Anab'asis" tells the story of the March of the Ten Thousand, in which he himself took part His "Hellen'ica" is an attempt to cover that part of the Peloponnesian war left unfinished by Thucydides. His "Memorabil'ia" draws a lifelike portrait of his great master, Socrates. His "Cyropædi'a" professes to describe the education of Cyrus the Elder, but is quite as much a description of what the author regards as a just prince. His "Œconom'icus" gives us an insight into the home life of the Greeks. He wrote interesting works upon other subjects, the variety of which might justify us in calling him an essayist as well as a historian

The Athenian Orators. — The making of speeches was not a new art among the Athenians, as we have already seen in connection with our study of the law courts and the assembly. But it is now that oratory becomes reduced to a written and

permanent form. Of the many orators who attained distinction, we may select three as the most representative — Lys'ias, Isoc'rates, and Demosthenes (who is not to be confused with the general of the same name). Lysias was employed, like many others, to write speeches for those who were obliged to plead their own cause in the courts. As he wrote for plain men, he used a plain, direct, and simple style. By writing clearly and distinctly, he became a master of vivid and effective speech. Somewhat different from Lysias was Isocrates. He was primarily a teacher of rhetoric, and hence the orations which he wrote — but did not deliver — have more of a rhetorical finish, and are perhaps more attractive in language than effective in thought. But the greatest of all the orators of Greece was Demosthenes, who holds the same preëminent place in oratory that Thucydides does in history. His life belongs to the later part of this period, and even reaches over into the Macedonian epoch. In the face of innumerable obstacles he attained the greatest skill and power in the art of expression. He combined the vivid effective speech of Lysias with the finished periods of Isocrates; but he possessed, more than either of these, an earnestness of purpose, a force of argument, a

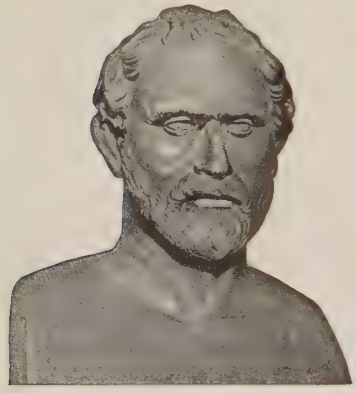


Lysias



Isocrates

power of persuasion, and an energy of diction, which have given him a place among the world's greatest orators. The most celebrated of his orations are his twelve "Philippics," in which he appealed to his countrymen to resist the encroachments of Philip of Mac'edon.



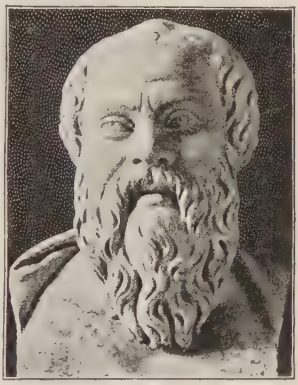
DEMOSTHENES

II. CULMINATION OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY

New Phase of Philosophy. — The high intellectual development which Greece maintained during this time, is seen not only in history and oratory, but also, and perhaps in a still greater degree, in philosophy. It was during this period that the philosophical thought of Greece reached its best and highest expression. Before this time philosophers had been trying to discover how the universe was made, and whether there is any such thing as an ultimate and fixed principle. Now they begin to study the human mind, the correct methods of reasoning, and the proper mode of discovering truth. The great names which belong to this period are those of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, — three men who rank among the greatest thinkers that the world has produced.

The Practical Philosophy of Socrates. — The name of Socrates is connected with that of the old sophists of the Periclean age. Among them he first appeared as the defender of truth, and the founder of a more scientific method of thinking. The son of a poor sculptor, with no personal attractions, he became one of the most conspicuous figures in Athens. He turned the thoughts of men into new channels. He showed them how foolish it was to follow the method of the old philosophers, and

to speculate about things which can not be known. His first maxim was, "Know thyself." He confounded the sophists who prided themselves upon their extensive wisdom. He taught men that true wisdom consists in knowing that which is good and doing that which is right. He taught them the difference between justice and injustice, between virtue and vice, between courage and cowardice. He taught them their duties to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to God. He taught that God is the supreme Good, who reveals Himself in the universe and in the human conscience, ruling the world by His providence, and guiding men in the path of duty. His long life extended beyond the period of the Peloponnesian war. He was finally tried and condemned to death by a small majority of his fellow-citizens, on the charge of introducing new gods into the state and of corrupting the youth. While we must condemn the Athenians for this wretched act of injustice, we need not wonder at it. Like many other people the mass of the Athenians were blindly attached to their old religious ideas, and shut their eyes to the new light. Socrates represented the higher intellectual and moral life of Greece. He left no writings; but his beneficial influence upon the world has never ceased.



SOCRATES

The Idealistic Philosophy of Plato. — Socrates left behind him many disciples who founded new schools. But the most distinguished of these was Plato, the founder of the so-called "Academic school." He carried out still farther the method of Socrates. In order to discover truth, he studied the ideas in the human mind, which he believed are reflections of the ideas in the divine mind. He believed that our ideas are born with us, brought into the world from our preëxistent

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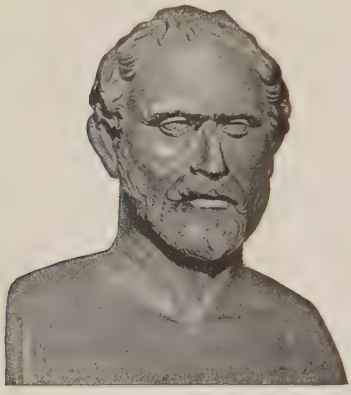

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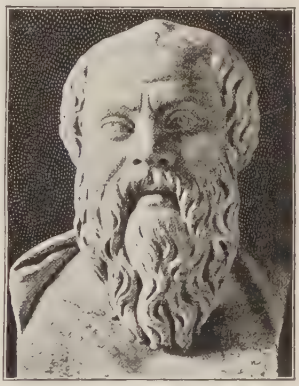

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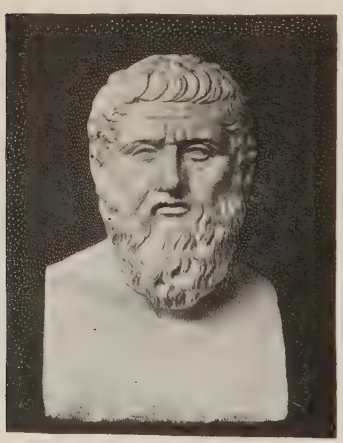
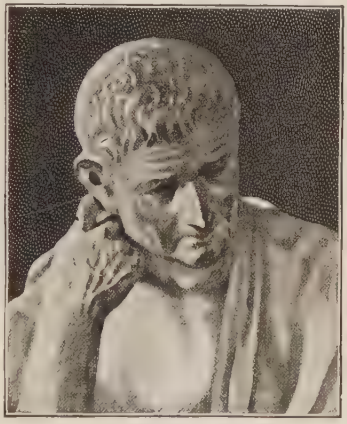
state. The divine ideas are embodied, not only in us, but in the world; and we should study the universe to discover these ideal principles in accordance with which all things are governed. So, in human life, we should conform to the ideal principles of justice and virtue; in other words, a perfect life is a life in harmony with the divine Idea. By such a method of thinking, Plato constructed a broad system of idealistic philosophy. The writings of Plato are in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is often represented as the chief speaker; so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the thoughts of Socrates and those of Plato himself. The dialogues are often named after some person; for example, the "Protag'oras," which discusses the nature of virtue; the "Phædo," which sets forth the arguments in favor of immortality; the "Theæte'tus," which is a discourse on the theory of knowledge. One of the most celebrated of Plato's Dialogues is "The Republic," which discusses the principles which should govern the perfect state. From the political conflicts of the time Plato stood aloof; and hence he shows to us the Greek mind in its purest and most tranquil frame.



PLATO

The Realistic Philosophy of Aristotle. — The course of Greek philosophy was continued in Aristotle, who, though born in the city of Stagi'ra (or Stagirus) in Chalcidice, came to Athens, and became a pupil of Plato. Although he regarded himself as a follower of Plato, his method differed considerably from that of his master. If we call Plato's philosophy *idealistic*, we may call Aristotle's *realistic*. Instead of beginning with ideas, Aristotle began with facts; and he tried to discover the

general laws which govern the facts of nature. He was therefore a man of wide observation and general learning. By gathering and classifying a vast number of facts, he became the founder of many sciences — of Logic, which treats of the laws of thought; of Psychology, or the science of the human mind; of Biology, or the science of living things; of Politics, or the science of the state. He is said to have studied the constitutions of many of the states of Greece; and the recently discovered work on the Athenian constitution, which is attributed to him, has added much to our knowledge of that government. Aristotle, like Demosthenes, belongs to the later part of the period we are now considering, and his life extended into the Macedonian period.



ARISTOTLE (So-called)

III. NEW PHASE OF THE DRAMA; COMEDY

Origin of the Greek Comedy. — If we see in the history, the oratory, and the philosophy of this period the calmer and more serious phases of the Grecian mind, we may see in the new form of the drama its lighter and more sparkling qualities. We no longer see that form of the drama which was produced by the great tragedians just after the Persian wars. We see quite another form, which is said, however, to have sprung from the same origin — namely, the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. While tragedy sprang from the graver choral songs which accompanied the winter festival, the other phase of the drama — that is, comedy — sprang from the more frolicsome songs which attended the rural festivals in the springtime. To each

of them was added the dialogue; but each retained its own character — the one grave and the other gay. The comedy had already begun to be used at the time of Pericles; but it reached its highest development during the Peloponnesian war. The purpose of the comedy was to excite laughter and ridicule, and hence it shows the capacity of the Greeks for wit and humor.

Masks used in Comedy

The Old, Middle, and New Comedy. — It is usual to separate the Athenian comedy into the old, the middle, and the new, according to the object toward which its satire was directed. The old comedy, of which Aristoph'anes was the great representative, flourished just after the age of Pericles. It was directed against individuals, the public and private citizens of Athens, who were by name held up to ridicule before the laughing populace. It served the purpose of the modern comic paper in subjecting to bold and ludicrous caricature well-known persons, with little care sometimes for the justice of the picture. The middle comedy, which extended from the close of the Peloponnesian war to the Macedonian epoch, was less personal in its attacks, and was directed not so much toward persons as toward types of people. The new comedy, which grew up in the following period, was hardly more than a continuation of the preceding form, with perhaps more refined methods, being a comedy of manners.

The Comedies of Aristophanes. — The greatest of all the comic writers of the Greeks was Aristophanes, who belonged to the old school. He mingled in the political life of Athens, and belonged to the party which was "against the government." He was also opposed to the new order of things, the new

culture, the new philosophy, and longed for the good old days of Miltiades and Pericles. His comedies might give us the best picture we have of Athenian life, if they contained less of caricature and satire. From other sources we may learn that some of his pictures are fairly just, while others are marked by the grossest injustice. Among his most noted works are the "Clouds," the "Knights," the "Wasps," and the "Birds." The "Clouds" indicated the method of the sophists, and unjustly held up Socrates as the type of this whole class. The "Knights" attacked with brilliant satire that coarse demagogue Cleon, who, though not an admirable character, perhaps does not merit all the abuse he received. The "Wasps" is an amusing picture of the Athenian jury system, in which every man is represented as trying to get a day's pay without a day's work. The "Birds" is "a fantastic satire upon the Athenian habit of building castles in the air, and of indulging in extravagant dreams of conquest" (Symonds). With all his ribaldry, Aristophanes was a poet of real genius, of sparkling wit, of great versatility, and sometimes of exquisite beauty.

IV. New School of Greek Art

The Younger Attic School. — Another illustration of the fact that the political conflicts of this period did not destroy the culture of Greece is shown in the continuance of art. Architecture followed the forms already existing, although we can see a tendency to use the more graceful Ionic style, in place of the more dignified and severe Doric. A similar tendency is seen in the character of sculpture. We see less of the grand and divine dignity of the work of Phidias. But we see more grace and human beauty — less of that which is

Ares Ludovisi

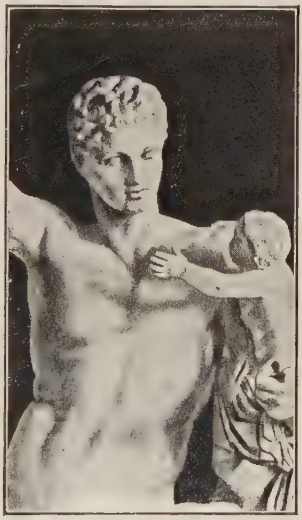
impressive, and perhaps more of that which is attractive. We see a marvelous skill in the pose of the human figure, and a wonderful expression in the human face. Notwithstanding the changes which modified the artistic spirit, the sculpture of this period will compare favorably with that of the Periclean age. The greatest names which belong to this school are those of Scopas, Praxit'eles, and Lysip'pus.

Scopas of Paros. — Although a native of the island of Paros, it is conjectured that Scopas lived in Athens a number of years. However this may be, his work was not confined to Athens. He was the architect of a temple built to Athena at Tegea, in Arcadia, and he carved the statuary in the pediments of this temple. He was also engaged in Caria in executing the reliefs on the renowned Mausole'um, or funeral monument of Mauso'lus. Besides these sculptures, there are also two famous pieces of statuary which some, perhaps without sufficient reason, have attributed to him. Whether they belong to him or not, they are generally supposed to represent the art of this period. The one is the Ares Ludovisi, which shows the god of war in an attitude of idle repose. The easy relaxed position of this powerful figure impresses one as a master stroke of the sculptor's art. The other is the group of Ni'obe and her children, which is supposed to be the work of either Scopas or Praxiteles. It represents the mother in an

NIOBE

attitude of supplication, imploring the gods to stay the vengeance which they have pronounced upon her and her children. The face of Niobe is unequaled in art as the expression of prayerful grief.

Praxiteles of Athens. — The name of Praxiteles stands next to that of Phidias in Greek art. He was a native of Athens, but we know very little of his life. One of the most famous of his works was the Aphrodite of Cnidus, which was visited from all parts of Greece by his admirers. But critics have been disposed to give the place of honor to his Hermes with the infant Dionysus, which in a mutilated form has come down to us. He executed a large number of figures of gods, goddesses, etc., which were characterized by their grace, symmetry, and beauty.



Hermes of Praxiteles

Lysippus of Sicyon. — The last great name which may be associated with this school is that of Lysippus of Sicyon, whose life, however, reached into the next period. His works appear to have been entirely in bronze. He was especially noted for his selection of human subjects. One of his most famous pieces is the figure of an Athlete. He was also distinguished for his portrait statues, one of which — that of Sophocles (see page 246) — is regarded as the finest ancient work of its kind.

New School of Painting. — During this period there was a marked advance in the method of painting. Previously colors had been applied in flat tints with no gradations of light and shade; and hence the so-called paintings were more properly colored drawings. But colors were now graded so as to

produce the effect of light and shade, which we call *chiaroscuro*. This method was introduced by Apollodo'rus of Athens. But it was improved by the two great painters, Zeuxis and Parrha'sius. The realistic effect of the new style of painting is illustrated by the story often told of these rival artists, — how the former painted a bunch of grapes that deceived the birds, and the latter a curtain that deceived the rival painter himself.

In this brief review of the culture which followed the age of Pericles and which flourished during this most distressing period in the political life of Greece, we are able to see more clearly than ever before the sterling qualities of the Greek mind — qualities which continued to shine in the midst of political storms. Every phase of culture, with the exception of poetry, remains; and in some respects there is a new revelation of intellectual life. What other age can show such a versatility of genius — Thucydides in history, Demosthenes in oratory, Plato in philosophy, Aristophanes in comedy, and Praxiteles in art!

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Mahaffy, Survey, Chs. 6, 7, "The Fourth Century B.C." (10).[1]
Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 26, "The New Culture"; Vol. III., Ch. 12, "Literature and Art in the First Half of the Fourth Century" (11).
Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 12, "Literature"; Vol. IV., Ch. 11, "Literature" (10).
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Greek Rhetoric and Oratory. — Fowler, Chs. 29–32 (23); Mahaffy, Greek Literature, Vol. II., Chs. 11, 12 (23); Brédif, Demosthenes, Chs. 1, 7, 9 (27); Jebb, Greek Literature, Bk. II. (23); Jebb, Attic Orators, Vol. I., Chs. 7–11; Vol. II., Chs. 12–18, 22 (23).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE SPREAD OF HELLENISM

PERIOD VI. THE UNION OF GREECE AND THE ORIENT (359-229 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXIV

MACEDONIA AND GREECE UNDER PHILIP

I. Macedonia, its People and King

Transition to the New Epoch. — From our study of Greek history up to this time, we have been able to see that the greatest achievements of the Greeks were not in the direction of political organization, but rather in the direction of a high intellectual life. We have had our attention continually called to the varied and remarkable evidences of their genius — in epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry; in history, oratory, and philosophy; in architecture, sculpture, and to a certain extent in painting. It is true that Greece had derived some of the primitive elements of her culture from the great countries of the East. But in the course of time she had developed within her own small territory a type of civilization which far surpassed that which the East had ever possessed. We have now reached the period in which the superior culture of Greece is no longer to be confined within the narrow limits of Hellas, but is to be extended and diffused among the people

of the East. If in early times the tide of Orientalism once flowed toward the Ægean, now the tide of Hellenism is to flow back toward the Orient. The great feature of the coming epoch is the union of Greece and Asia in a wider civilization, which we may call "Græco-Oriental." The country which is to form the bond of union between the West and the East is Macedonia. The two great men who are to be most influential in bringing about this union are Philip and Alexander the Great — the one bringing under his control Greece; the other, Asia.

Macedonia and the Macedonians. — Macedonia now comes to occupy for the first time an important place in history. It was a country lying to the north of Thessaly, beyond the Cambunian Mountains. Geographically it may be divided into two parts: the highlands, lying toward the north and west and broken up by hills and mountains; and the lowlands, lying toward the sea and drained by three rivers which flow into the Thermaic Gulf. The people were remotely related to the Greeks. But they were still in a semi-barbarous condition, living by hunting wild beasts and plundering one another. They were a hardy race, and had in them the making of good soldiers. In the highlands they were separated into many tribes, each under its own chief. But in the lowlands, near the sea, they had come into contact with the Greek colonies, and had begun to be more civilized and to have something like a united government.

MACEDONIA AT THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II.

Early Kings of Macedonia. — We have little to do with the earlier kings of this country, except so far as they were

brought into relation with the Greeks. We hear of Alexander I. who served in the army of Xerxes, but who afterward took part in the Greek festivals, and was considered as a real Greek. We also hear of Archela'us, a more noted king, who came into closer relation with the Greeks; who ruled with skill and energy, enlarging his kingdom; and who adopted some of the customs of the Greek people, even inviting to his court Greek poets and artists. At the time of the Theban supremacy, Macedonia became so strong and threatening that Pelopidas invaded the country, checked the ambition of its ruler, and brought back to Thebes the young prince Philip as a hostage. This young Philip, while in bondage, became versed in the civilized arts of Greece and especially in the military system of Epaminondas, and thus became fitted for his future work as the king of Macedonia.

Accession of Philip II. (359 B.C.). — On his return to Macedonia Philip was appointed regent of the kingdom at the age of twenty-three; and in a short time he had himself proclaimed king. He proved to be a man of wonderful ability, versed in the best as well as the worst arts of statecraft. He possessed unusual powers of organization. He was able as a warrior, and still more able as a wily diplomatist. He soon crushed all his rivals, and seated himself firmly upon the throne. He then extended his power over the mountain tribes, and pushed back the barbarians on the frontiers — the Illyrians on the west and the Pæo'nians on the north. But more than this, he gathered together his scattered subjects into a well-organized army. This gave to the people a common military discipline and a common national spirit. In organizing his army, Philip adopted the Greek phalanx; but he strengthened it by making the line sixteen instead of eight men deep. He armed the men

PHILIP II. (Coin)

with lances twenty-one feet long, so that the front of the phalanx presented a projecting forest of bristling spears. He also organized a fine body of heavy-armed cavalry, made up of the best men of the kingdom and called "companions," which formed in action the right arm of his battle line.

Extension of the Macedonian Kingdom. — Philip directed his energies to extending his kingdom along the coast. By deceiving the Athenians he got possession of Amphipolis and Pydna. He then captured Potidæa, a Corinthian colony in Chalcidice which had been brought under the power of Athens. But instead of keeping this city himself, he turned it over to Olynthus, the capital of the Chalcidian confederacy; he did this to make Athens jealous of Olynthus, and thus to keep these two cities from uniting against him. He soon pushed into Thrace and founded a city called after his own name Philip'pi. This gave him control of the Thracian mines, which yielded him an annual revenue of a thousand talents (nearly $1,200,000). Thus in a few years Philip had converted a semi-barbarous country into a well-organized and growing kingdom.

II. Encroachments of Philip upon Greece

Athens and the "Social War" (358–355 B.C.). — The aggressions of Philip on the northern coasts of the Ægean Sea were made upon territory which Athens either owned or coveted. Since the foundation of her second confederacy (see page 281), Athens had recovered much of her old power and influence; and she was now disposed to resist the encroachments of the Macedonian king. But she was prevented at this time from making any serious opposition to him, as she was engaged in putting down a revolt of her own allies — Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium (map, page 262). This revolt was incited and aided by the satraps of Asia Minor, and also by Mausolus, the governor of Caria. After a weary war — known as the "Social war" — the independence of the allies was acknowledged.

As a result of this war, Athens again lost her influence on the Asiatic coast, at the same time that she was losing her hold on the northern shores of the Ægean.

Philip and the "Sacred War" (357–346 B.C.). — Philip was aided in his aggressions, not only by the revolt of the Athenian allies just mentioned, but also by a more serious quarrel which broke out in central Greece. This was a bitter feud between Phocis and Thebes regarding the oracle at Delphi (map, page 76), and is known as the "Sacred war." The Thebans brought against the Phocians the charge of sacrilege, claiming that the Phocians had seized lands belonging to the temple of Apollo. The Phocians were condemned by the Amphictyonic Council, and were heavily fined. They refused, however, to pay this fine, and added to their first crime another, by seizing the temple itself with its treasures. A long war followed between Phocis and Thebes — the latter being assisted by Thessaly and Locris. The Phocians were victorious in battle and pushed their armies into Thessaly. Thebes, therefore, appealed to Philip for aid; and the Macedonian king entered Greece as the ally of Thebes and the champion of Apollo. He defeated the Phocians and made himself master of Thessaly. Pressing on to Thermopylæ, he found this pass held by an Athenian army. Instead of exposing his own army to slaughter, he deemed it wiser to withdraw and to wait for a more convenient season in which to extend his influence in Greece.

Demosthenes and Philip. — The one great man who now appeared as the defender of Greece against Philip was Demosthenes. He had already made a reputation as an orator; and he now assumed the rôle of a statesman. Inspired with a patriotic spirit as pure as that of Pericles, he labored under the delusion that Athens might again be great and might stem the advancing power of Macedonia. Demosthenes was opposed by the peace party of Athens. This party had for its leader Eubu'lus, for its popular representative Pho'cion, and for its chief orator Æs'chines. These men believed that it would be for the best interests of Athens to come to terms with Philip

But Demosthenes determined to resist every advancing step made by the Macedonian king. To arouse Greece to a sense of her danger, he delivered the first of a series of famous orations known as "Philippics."

Philip was now busy in the north, trying to get possession of Olynthus, and to reduce to his power the whole Chalcidian confederacy. Olynthus appealed to Athens for aid; and Demosthenes delivered his "Olynthiac orations," to urge the people to make war upon Philip and to save the Chalcidian city. His earnest efforts induced the Athenians to declare war, but failed to save the beleaguered town. Olynthus fell (348 B.C.), and with it all the Chalcidian cities, whose inhabitants, according to the ancient custom, were either put to death or sold into slavery. The kingdom of Philip now extended nearly to the Hellespont on the east, and to the pass of Thermopylæ on the south.

III. The Pacification of Greece

The Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.). — The ambition of Philip was now directed to getting control of the whole Hellenic peninsula. But to obtain any further influence in Greece, it was necessary to get possession of Thermopylæ, where a short time before he had been stopped by the Athenian army. This pass, he was convinced, could be taken more easily by diplomacy than by force. He accordingly surprised and pleased the Athenians by showing a desire to make peace. On motion of Philocrates, an Athenian embassy was appointed to negotiate a treaty with the king. The embassy included in its number the rival orators, Æschines and Demosthenes. After some dallying and annoying delay, the "Peace of Philocrates" was concluded. Philip professed his friendship for Athens, and Athens withdrew her opposition to Philip. Thermopylæ was now held by a body of Phocian mercenaries, who, fearing for their own safety, opened secret negotiations with the king. Philip promised them a safe departure if they would surrender to him the

pass of Thermopylæ. He thus obtained the key of Greece for the possession of which he had been intriguing; and to insure its permanent occupation, he placed in it a Macedonian garrison. He then marched to Delphi; but instead of wreaking his vengeance upon the Phocians, as had been expected, he simply scattered them in small villages, and received himself the two votes in the Amphictyonic Council hitherto possessed by Phocis. Turning now to the Peloponnesus, Philip formed alliances with Argos, Messenia, and Elis; and his emissaries were stationed in nearly every city. As the indirect result of the Peace of Philocrates, Macedonia thus became the leading state in Greece.

The Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). — But Athens was not ready, even now, to accept the supremacy of the Macedonian king. It is true that Demosthenes had urged the people to accept the Peace of Philocrates; but he was afterward led to question the honesty of Philip in his dealings with Greece. He also saw that Philip was about to make further aggressions in Thrace. It was through the influence of Demosthenes that Philip was prevented from getting possession of Byzantium on the Bosphorus. It was also through his influence that Athens and Thebes joined in a final effort to crush the king, when he was once more called into Greece to protect the oracle at Delphi. But at Chæronea, in Bœotia (map, page 281), Philip defeated the combined forces of the Grecian allies, and destroyed the last opposition to his power. This battle is generally regarded as marking the loss of Grecian independence. But we can see that the independence of Greece had been gradually declining since the first interference of Philip in Grecian affairs. Greece fell before. Macedonia on account of her incapacity to form a united state, like that which Philip had created for his people.

The Congress of Corinth (338 B.C.). — Philip now proceeded to do for Greece what Greece had failed to do for herself. He called together at Corinth a congress of all the states. This congress is said to have been the most representative body that

the Hellenic world had ever seen — Sparta alone standing aloof. The king gave to the Greeks a constitution which formed a kind of federal state. Every city was to be free, and to manage its own affairs, and not to be subject to any tribute. The Amphictyonic Council was to be the supreme arbiter in the settlement of disputes between the different states. The king was to be the president, having the power to declare war and peace. At this congress Philip revealed his greatest project, which was nothing less than the conquest of Persia, in which Greeks and Macedonians would unite in avenging the wrongs done to Greece since the days of Xerxes. The proposals of the king were accepted, and he was appointed commander in chief of the armies which were to invade the Persian empire. But while making plans for this expedition, Philip was assassinated, and the completion of his work was left to his son, Alexander the Great.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

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Timayenis, Vol. II., Part III., Ch. 2, "The Phocian and Olynthiac Wars" (11).
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Curtius, Vol. V., Bk. VII., Ch. 3, "Athens and King Philip" (11).
Plutarch, "Demosthenes," "Phocion" (13).

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The Macedonian Army. — Bury, pp. 819, 820 (10); Allcroft, Vol. V., pp. 115, 116 (10); Curteis, pp. 34–38 (17); Wheeler, Alexander, pp. 215–217 (27); Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 12 (27); Grote, Part II., ch. 92.

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXV

ALEXANDER AND THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST

I. Conquests in Western Asia

Accession of Alexander (336 B.C.). — By the work of Philip the barriers which separated Greece from Macedonia were broken down; but the barriers which separated Europe from Asia still remained. To level these was the work of Alexander. In this young prince we see a remarkable combination of qualities. From his father he inherited an imperial will, a keen insight into men and things, and a genius for military organization. From his mother — a half-barbarian princess — he inherited an impetuous nature, a fitful, fiery temper, and a tendency to superstition. By his great teacher, Aristotle, he was trained to virtue and the love of truth, to an exalted appreciation of knowledge, and to a sympathy with the Hellenic spirit. From his favorite author, Homer, he derived a heroic inspiration, a zeal for warlike action, and a passion to rival the deeds of Achilles. From the time that he was a boy of twelve — when, according to Plutarch, he had tamed the fiery steed Bucephalus — to the battle of Chæronea, where he had led the Macedonian cavalry, he had shown that he was born to rule. At the age of twenty he ascended his father's throne. His first work was to quell the spirit of revolt

Alexander

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 9.

which seemed everywhere to show itself with the news of his father's death. He put out of the way his possible rivals. He entered Greece and had himself proclaimed commander in chief, as his father had done. He punished the tribes of the north and west which threatened the frontiers of his kingdom. Angered by a Grecian revolt led by Thebes, he wiped that city from the earth, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar. Having pacified his kingdom in Europe, he was ready to enter upon the conquest of Asia.

Asia Minor; **Battle of the Granicus** (334 B.C.). — The expeditions of Alexander are so filled with incidents that we can do scarcely more than simply to trace on the map his route through the Eastern countries, and point out the sites of his most important battles. He crossed the Hellespont with a small but well-trained army consisting of thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. He first visited the plains of Troy, already hallowed in his imagination by the tales of Homer; here he offered a sacrifice to Athena, and paid homage to the tomb of Achilles. His first battle was fought at the river Grani'cus, a small stream flowing into the Propontis. At this point the Persian satraps of Asia Minor had collected an army of forty thousand men, made up largely of Greek mercenaries, with which they hoped to stop the progress of the young Macedonian. Alexander crossed the river in the face of the Persian cavalry, and practically destroyed the whole army, with but a small loss on his own part.[1] The victory at the Granicus

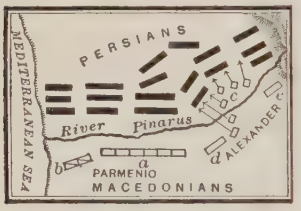
BATTLE OF GRANICUS

a, Macedonian phalanx; *b*, allied cavalry; *c*, companion cavalry; *d*, light infantry; *e*, archers and javelin throwers

[1] In this victory we may learn something of the way in which Alexander conducted a battle. His general plan was as follows: (1) To hold in reserve his left wing, — consisting of (*a*) the Macedonian phalanx, supported on the left by (*b*) the allied cavalry — in order to resist any attack of the enemy; (2) to charge furiously with his right wing — consisting of (*c*) the "companion cavalry" connecting with the phalanx by (*d*) the light infantry, and supported

left very little opposition in Asia Minor. Phrygia fell immediately into his hands. Sardis surrendered without a blow. Ephesus was frightened into submission. Miletus resisted and was taken by storm. The cities of Lycia hastened to open their gates. This closed the first campaign; and Alexander moved north to Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, where he quartered his army for the winter, and according to the well-known story "cut the Gordian knot."

Syria; **Battle of Issus** (333 B.C.). — In the spring Alexander marched southward through the passes of the Taurus Mountains to Tarsus; then through the city of Issus into the open plains of Syria, where he expected to meet the armies of the great king, Darius III. In the meantime, Darius had assembled a vast horde of six hundred thousand men and moved to the north and to the rear of Alexander's army, hoping to cut off its retreat. He took up a position south of Issus on the banks of the little river Pin'arus. But, crowded between the mountains and the sea, a large portion of the Persian army could not be brought to the battle line. Alexander, who had moved far to the south of this position, was obliged to face about, march back toward the north, and attack Darius in his chosen position. After a severe conflict, a large part of the Persian army was destroyed and the rest put to flight. Syria was thus brought under Alexander's power.

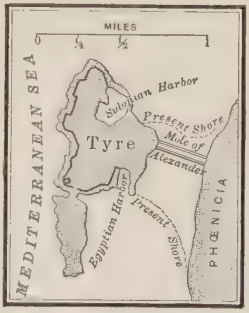


BATTLE OF ISSUS
(For letters, see page 309.)

Instead now of pushing directly into the heart of Persia, as the "Ten Thousand" had done under Cyrus the Younger, Alexander decided first to secure the Mediterranean coasts to the

on the extreme right by (*e*) the archers and javelin throwers — the cavalry charge being intended to pierce and break the enemy's lines; and (3) to bring up the reserved left wing and complete the victory. No general has ever surpassed Alexander in the use of cavalry. In all his great battles Alexander commanded the attacking right wing, and his most trusted general, Parme'nio, commanded the reserved left wing. (See Dodge, pp. 237–244, 305–316, 368–386.)

south. He therefore moved through Sidon and reached Tyre. At this place he met the most serious resistance which he encountered in all his campaigns. The new city of Tyre was situated on an island about half a mile from the coast. Having no fleet at hand, Alexander could reach the city only by building an immense mole, or causeway, through the sea to the walls. By this stupendous piece of work he was able to storm and capture the city. The overtures for peace which the Persian king now felt disposed to offer him were scornfully rejected.



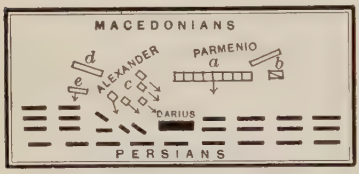
SIEGE OF TYRE

Egypt; Founding of Alexandria (332 B.C.). — There remained only one more province on the Mediterranean to be secured, and that was Egypt. The march to the south, however, was blocked at Gaza, a strongly fortified town defended by its faithful governor, Batis. To assault these walls Alexander performed another great feat of engineering skill. He built a mound of earth, two hundred and fifty feet high and twelve hundred feet broad at the base, around the entire city. Although repulsed three times, he finally took the town by storm. He put to death what remained of the garrison, and sold the women and children into slavery. The story is told that the heroic defender, Batis, was cruelly bound to a chariot and dragged to death, after the manner in which Achilles had treated the body of Hector. The way was now opened to Egypt, which welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. The province willingly acknowledged his authority. On the coast west of the Delta, he founded the new city of Alexan'dria, the first and most famous of many towns which perpetuated his name. Thence he moved westward along the coast, and then southward through the Libyan desert to the noted temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. Here, it is said, the oracle addressed him as the son of Zeus and the future conqueror

of the world. This may have had some influence upon Alexander, in leading him to claim divine honors for himself.

II. Conquests in Central and Eastern Asia

Central Persia; Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — Having organized the government of Egypt, Alexander returned to Tyre and made his preparations to pierce the heart of the Persian empire. He crossed the Euphrates at Thap'sacus, and passed through Mesopotamia beyond the Tigris. In a broad plain near the village of Gaugame'la, and thirty miles west of Arbe'la, he came face to face with the army of the great king. Here was to be fought the battle which was to decide the fate of Persia. Since his defeat at Issus, Darius had gathered an immense armament which rivaled that of Xerxes, — a million infantry, forty thousand cavalry, two hundred scythed chariots, and fifteen elephants. To meet this host Alexander had now an army of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. The long line of the Persian army reached far beyond his own, and threatened to overlap his wings. And so, to meet this, he placed behind each wing a second line, which could resist an attack on either flank. His attack began with a cavalry charge toward the enemy's left; and this he suddenly changed and directed in the form of a wedge against the center, where Darius himself was urging on his troops. The frightened king fled; his army became demoralized; while the rest of Alexander's troops pressed forward and gained a complete victory. The battle at Gaugamela — usually called the "battle of Arbela" — sealed the doom of the empire. Alexander then moved south to Babylon, which surrendered to him; next to Susa, which also opened its gates; and then to



Battle of "Arbela"
(For letters, see page 309.)

Persep'olis, which was taken after a feeble resistance. These three cities were the richest in the world; and by their capture Alexander came into possession of immense treasures. He proclaimed himself the monarch of Persia, which he no doubt had a right to do; but he disgraced his name by wantonly firing with his own hand the magnificent palace at Persepolis.

Pursuit and Death of Darius (330 B.C.). — With the Persian empire at his feet, Alexander next marched north to Ecbat'ana in pursuit of the fugitive king, Darius. At his approach the king fled toward Parthia. Leaving at Ecbatana his most trusted general, Parmenio, who had commanded his left wing in all his great battles, Alexander pressed on, through the Caspian Gates, to a town (Hecatom'pylus) on the borders of Parthia. He here learned that Darius had just been killed by Bessus, who had declared himself king of Bac'tria. Alexander obtained the body of Darius and delivered it to the queen mother, thus following the example of Achilles, who had delivered up the body of Hector to his father, Priam.

The Far East; Battle of the Hydaspes (326 B.C.). — Alexander had now traversed the western and central provinces of the empire. There remained the far eastern provinces, which had been but loosely joined to Persia. He subdued the tribes of Hyrca'nia on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. He brought under his authority Parthia, and to the south the provinces of A'ria and Drangia'na. Turning again to the north he established his power over Bactria and Sogdia'na, and planted on the river Jaxar'tes a new Alexandria, the extreme northern limit of his conquests. It was during this period that Alexander blackened his name by two of his most infamous crimes. The one was the assassination of his faithful general, Parmenio, on the charge of conspiracy; the other was the murder, in a fit of drunken frenzy, of his dearest friend, Clitus, who had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus. Of these dastardly crimes, it can only be said in extenuation that he bitterly repented of them.

Not satisfied with the conquest of Persia, Alexander crossed the Indus, and proceeded through the Punjab to the river Hydas'pes. Here, after a severe engagement, he gained a victory over the armies of India, led by Porus, the most able king of the Far East. Struck by the royal bearing of Porus, Alexander made him viceroy of his new Indian province. The Macedonian soldiers, now wearied with years of marching and fighting, refused to go farther into unknown lands; and Alexander was obliged to return. Down the Indus and through the sands of Gedro'sia and Carma'nia, his army marched back to Persepolis and Susa; while his fleet explored anew the ancient water route from the Indus to the Euphrates. Alexander repaired to Babylon, now the capital of his newly conquered world.

Death and Character of Alexander. — On his return to Babylon Alexander did not rest. He hoped to push his conquests into Arabia, and to give a firmer organization to his Græco-Oriental empire. But in a short time he was stricken down by a fever, and died (323 B.C.) at the age of thirty-two years and eight months. His last words were a request that the empire be given "to the most worthy." His body was carried to Egypt, and was buried at Alexandria with divine honors.

What shall be thought of Alexander? This is a question upon which there has been much difference of opinion. Some have regarded him as scarcely more than a brilliant military adventurer. Others have looked upon him as having done more for the world's civilization than any other human being. Without assuming too much confidence in our own opinion, let us look at his chief characteristics as a man, as a soldier, and as a statesman.

As a man Alexander possessed remarkable natural endowments — a body of great beauty, agility, and strength, capable of extraordinary feats of endurance; a mind of transcendent genius, of restless activity, of wonderful powers of insight, of broad and comprehensive views, prolific in resources, and unerring in the adjustment of means to ends; a will power such

SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER (So-called)

as is rarely given to men, irresistible and untiring; and an emotional nature made up of a strange mixture of generosity and cruelty, of self-control and self-indulgence, of calm repose and furious passion, capable of performing the worst of crimes, and immediately giving way to penitence and remorse.

As a soldier he has had scarcely a peer in the world's history: a born commander of men, a supreme master of strategy and tactics, equally great in marches, sieges, and battles.

As a statesman he possessed a cosmopolitan breadth of view. He believed that the state should not be narrowed to the limits of a city or small territory, like that of the Greeks, but should take in all civilized peoples. He showed his broad ideas by favoring the mixture of races, by encouraging a wider commercial intercourse, by patronizing the arts and the sciences by building up new cities as centers for the diffusion of Greek civilization. He adopted, in some respects, higher methods of

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 10.

government than those which had hitherto prevailed in the East; and these may have had a beneficial effect upon the later monarchies of the East, and perhaps upon the later Roman empire. But it remains true that the empire which he himself carved out with the sword fell to pieces almost immediately after his death. Yet we must regard Alexander as a great and efficient agent in advancing civilization; for by breaking down the barriers which separated the Greek and the "barbarian," he paved the way for the spread of a higher culture; and this event marks a new epoch in the world's history.

III. Dissolution of Alexander's Empire

Wars of Succession; Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.). — The power of Alexander is seen in the fact that no one else was able to wield the authority which he himself had exercised. The years which followed his death were years of intrigue and war between his different generals who attempted to succeed him (known as the "Diad'ochi"). At first Perdic'cas tried to rule. He divided the provinces among the other chieftains, who, however, refused to recognize his authority. Afterward Antig'onus aspired to the position of great king. But he was opposed by the other generals, who were themselves getting control of various provinces — Cassan'der of Macedonia, Lysim'achus of Thrace, Seleu'cus of Syria, and Ptol'emy of Egypt. After years of bitter strife, Antigonus was defeated and slain at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia; and the victorious generals divided among themselves the fragments of the empire.

Kingdom of the Seleucidæ; Syria. — Even before the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus had succeeded in getting possession of Babylon and a large part of the eastern provinces. He now received in addition Mesopotamia, Syria, and the eastern part of Asia Minor. He removed his capital from Babylon to Antioch in Syria; but in this way he also weakened his hold upon his eastern provinces. He divided his whole territory into seventy-two satrapies, ruled not by natives but by Greeks and

Macedonians. The eastern provinces were intrusted to his son Anti'ochus, who afterward succeeded to his father's throne (280 B.C.). This extensive empire was known as Syria, or the "Kingdom of the Seleu'cidæ," and remained the greatest power in Asia until the Roman conquest (64 B.C.).

Kingdom of the Ptolemies; Egypt. — Ptolemy I. (Soter) was one of Alexander's generals who was put in possession of Egypt directly after the death of the conqueror, and had maintained himself there during the wars of succession. He afterward added to his kingdom Palestine, lower Syria (Cœle-Syria), and Cyprus. Under his administration and that of his successors Egypt rose to prosperity and greatness. The first Ptolemy organized the kingdom into provinces based upon the ancient nomes; but the civil and military authority was placed in the hands of Greeks and Macedonians. Alexandria became the great commercial emporium of the Mediterranean, and the center of the world's learning. Egypt remained the land of commerce and of culture until it was absorbed by the Roman empire (30 B.C.).

Kingdom of Macedonia and Greece. — After the death of Alexander the Greeks made a fresh attempt to throw off the power of Macedonia. This unsuccessful revolt, which is known as the "Lamian war" (323–321 B.C.), was inspired chiefly by Demosthenes, who after its disastrous close fled from Athens and took his own life by poison. The Greeks still remained under the influence of Macedonia; and their political history has no unusual interest for us until the rise of the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, which we shall notice hereafter. After the battle of Ipsus, Macedonia fell into the hands of Cassander, who received it as his share of Alexander's empire. His successors were chiefly occupied in maintaining their influence over the Greek cities, until they came into contact with the rising power of Rome.

Minor Fragments of the Empire. — Besides these most important fragments of Alexander's empire, there arose a number of smaller states which we need only mention here. The ter-

ritory comprising Thrace and portions of Asia Minor had been granted after the battle of Ipsus to Lysimachus. But this kingdom soon fell to pieces. Thrace was attached to Macedonia; and in Asia Minor there grew up the new kingdoms of Per'gamum, Bithyn'ia, Paphlago'nia, Cappado'cia, and the island republic of Rhodes, which included some of the cities on the adjacent coast.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 44, "Alexander the Great" (10).[1]
Curteis, Ch. 9, "Alexander in Asia Minor" (17).
Allcroft, Vol. V., Ch. 9, "From Granicus to Arbela" (10).
Bury, Ch. 17, "Conquest of Persia" (10).
Wheeler, Alexander, Ch. 19, "The Siege of Tyre" (27).
Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 26, "Concluding Years of Alexander's Reign" (11).
Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 27, "Arbela" (27).
Timayenis, Vol. II., Part IX., "The Successors" (11).
Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 8, "Alexander and his Successors" (10).
Arrian, Anabasis, Bk. I., Chs. 12–17, Battle of the Granicus (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Character of Alexander. — Oman, Ch. 44 (10); Wheeler, Alexander, Ch. 31 (27); Curteis, Ch. 17 (17); Allcroft, Vol. V., pp. 155–158 (10); Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 27 (11); Freeman, pp. 161–206 (12); Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 8 (12); Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 48 (27); Plutarch, "Alexander" (13).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXVI

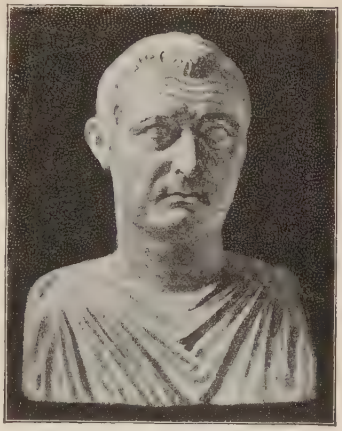
GREEK CULTURE AND THE EASTERN WORLD

I. Hellenic and Hellenistic Culture

Alexander and Hellenism. — The real greatness of Alexander rests upon the fact that he put himself in harmony with the highest civilization of his age, and gave to it the character of a world culture. It was, in fact, the alliance of Alexander with Hellenism that created a new epoch in the world's history. Without the civilization of Greece at his back, the conquests of Alexander might have had scarcely more significance than those of other great warriors. On the other hand, without Alexander for its champion, Greek civilization might not have attained its world-wide influence. We should, therefore, think of Alexander not so much as the one who conquered the Eastern world as the one who paved the way for the spread of Greek civilization. While we give him personally all the credit due him as a conqueror and civilizer, we must still remember that the regeneration which he wrought was due ultimately to the great superiority and civilizing influence of the culture of Greece.

Hellenic Culture in Greece. — In taking a brief review of the general culture which had its beginning in this period, we may first look at Greece itself, where the Hellenic spirit was least affected by Oriental influences. Athens was still the center of Grecian life and thought. Here flourished the men who represented better than elsewhere the continuance of the old Hellenic spirit. Here Demosthenes and Æschines continued to deliver their orations in pure Attic Greek, while Macedonia was winning her way to power. Here Aristotle continued to write his works on philosophy and science, while

Alexander was extending his arms to the Indus. Here comedy continued to flourish in the writings of Menan'der; and painting survived in the famous portraits and other works produced by Apelles. These men represented the old Hellenic culture — a culture which had been developing in Greece since the days of the Persian wars, but which was destined to lose its Attic purity by contact with the thought and spirit of the East.



MENANDER

Post-Aristotelian Philosophy. — One of the evidences of the influence of the East upon the native culture of Greece is seen in the growth of certain new schools of philosophy which followed Aristotle. These schools were a protest, not only against the old religious ideas of the Greeks, but also against the foreign superstitions which were coming into Greece from the East. The foremost of these schools were the Epicure'an and the Stoic. The Epicurean school took its name from Epicu'rus, who was born at Samos and had taught in the cities of Asia Minor before he came to Athens. Epicurus tried to rescue men from the influence of superstition and the old mythological ideas concerning the gods. According to his teachings, if there are any gods such as people imagine, they have nothing to do with the world and with human life. Men should be influenced, not by the fear of the gods, but by the desire to obtain the highest happiness — not the passing pleasure of the hour, but the permanent happiness of a lifetime. The Stoic philosophy, which was a higher system than the Epicurean, was founded by Zeno. He taught in the Stoa Pœcile (Painted Porch), from which his school received its name. He also rejected the prevailing mythological notions,

and believed that the world is governed by a Universal Reason which is revealed in the laws of nature. According to Zeno, men should live, not to appease the gods, but to conform to the highest "law of nature." He also sympathized with the broader ideas of the age, and believed that men's duties should not be limited to their own city or even to Greece, but should extend to all mankind.

In these new schools of philosophy we may see some of the influences of the new period — the influx of Oriental superstition which these schools tried to withstand, and also the desire to enter into the new world spirit which followed the breaking down of national barriers. The new philosophy taught that every one should be, not simply a member of his own city, but a "citizen of the world."

The Spread of Hellenism in the East. — But the most interesting feature of this age is not so much the influence of Oriental ideas upon the old culture of Greece, as the diffusion of the Hellenic culture into other parts of the world — that is, the "Hellenizing" of the Orient. This was due, not only to the work of Alexander himself, but to the continuance of his policy by his successors. Like him, they also planted new cities, placed over them Greek and Macedonian governors, encouraged Greek colonization, introduced the customs of Greek life, favored the use of the Greek language, and patronized Greek learning and art. These new cities became new centers of Greek civilization, and in some respects they surpassed the older cities of Greece. The accumulated wealth of the East was used to construct splendid works of art, fashioned upon Greek models — temples, colonnades, sculptures, market places, gardens. The ambition of princes to conquer the lands of their neighbors became tempered by the desire to surpass their rivals as patrons of art, literature, and science. In such ways as these the Greeks became the citizens of the world, and the culture of Greece became the heritage of other people.

Meaning of Hellenistic Culture. — As we consider this great movement by which the Greek language and civilization were

gradually extended over the East, there is one important point which should be kept in mind. This is the fact that the culture which had been developed by the Greeks themselves was considerably modified by being taken up by the people of foreign countries. For example, the Greek language, when spoken by a Syrian, a Jew, or an Egyptian, would no longer remain the pure language of Sophocles or Plato, but would acquire features foreign to the Attic tongue. So the architecture and sculpture of Greece would have impressed upon them a certain Oriental character and spirit, which would distinguish them from the art of Phidias and Praxiteles. To this Greek culture modified by Oriental influences we apply the term "Hellenistic," to distinguish it from the purer Greek culture of the Greeks themselves, which we call "Hellenic." The Hellenistic culture, then, refers to the language and civilization of the people of the East who adopted the speech and culture of the Greeks. It is, in short, the Orientalized form of Hellenism.[1] The Greek influence extended into central Asia and as far east as the Indus; but the chief seats of the Hellenistic culture were the countries on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean — Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

II. Hellenistic Culture in Asia Minor

Pergamum as a Center of Culture. — We remember that from very early times the coast cities of Asia Minor had been in the possession of the Greeks, and were in fact the primitive seats of the Hellenic civilization. But as the result of Persian encroachments, they had become estranged from Greece and had fallen under Oriental influence. The new culture, therefore, which now sprang up in Asia Minor after the conquests of Alexander, was really Hellenistic, though possessing less foreign elements than the culture either of Syria or of Egypt. The chief seat of the new civilization in Asia Minor was the

[1] For the proper use of the term "Hellenistic," see Holm, Vol. IV., p. 5, note.

city of Pergamum — the capital of the kingdom of the same name. The kings of this country came to be wealthy and somewhat powerful monarchs. They gained an enviable reputation by ending the depredations of the Gauls — a barbarian people who in the third century invaded Greece and Asia

THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMUM (Restoration)

Minor, and were finally settled in the province of Gala'tia, in the interior of Asia Minor. This victory over the Gauls was the great heroic event in the history of Pergamum, and was commemorated in many works of art.

Architecture and Sculpture of Pergamum. — The kings of Pergamum adorned their capital with splendid buildings, which rivaled the architecture of Athens. Here we find an agora, surrounded by public buildings and porticoes. Here we find a theater, temples, and colonnades like those of Greece. The central architectural feature of the city was a vast altar dedicated to Zeus Soter (the Savior). This was built by Eu'menes II. to commemorate the victory over the barbarian Gauls, and the divine assistance then given. The altar was situated on the summit of the acropolis, said to have been more than eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. It was adorned

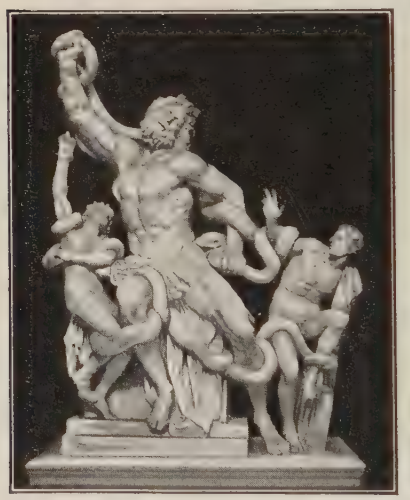
with elaborate sculptures and especially with a gigantic frieze on which was represented the battle between the gods and the barbarian giants. This altar with its decorations was regarded as one of the marvels of the ancient world. We have preserved to us a valuable relic of the Pergamean art, and also of the Gallic invasion, in the well-known copy of the Dying Gaul, usually called the "Dying Gladiator." This is worth our careful study as a specimen of Hellenistic art, showing a departure from the purest Greek models in the realistic representation of a wounded barbarian warrior.

The Dying Gaul

Literature and Science of Pergamum. — This city was a center not only of art, but also of learning. Although it made no important contributions to literature, it was distinguished for a remarkable collection of literary works — a library of two hundred thousand volumes, which rivaled the more renowned collection at Alexandria. Books, or rather manuscripts, had previously been written upon Egyptian papyrus. But as the exportation of this material was prohibited by the Egyp-

tians, the kings of Pergamum adopted in its place the skins of animals (called *Pergamenæ chartæ*, from which comes our word "parchment"). The city of Pergamum also became the home of many scientific men, — grammarians, mathematicians, natural philosophers, and physicians, — of whom many acquired great renown, as Cra'tes in philology, and Galen in medicine.

The School of Rhodes — Another important center of Hellenistic culture in Asia Minor was Rhodes, famous for its school of rhetoric and its code of maritime law. The art of Rhodes reveals the same Oriental influences that appeared at Pergamum. This is seen in the taste for colossal figures and impressive groups of statuary. The famous Colossus of Rhodes, a statue one hundred and fifty feet high, was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world. The most important example of Rhodian sculpture that remains to us is the group of Laoc'oön, a priest of Apollo, and his sons, who were destroyed by serpents sent by Athena. The agony depicted upon the face of the priest, though wonderfully expressive, is far removed from the calm repose which marks the purer Hellenic art.



Laocoön and his Sons

Examples of Pure Hellenic Art. — As we study the art of what is called the "Hellenistic period," we should bear in mind the fact that not all the works produced at this time show in an equal degree the influence of Orientalism. Some works show this influence to a greater, and some to a less extent. Before we leave the shores of the Ægean, we should therefore notice

HEAD OF THE APOLLO BELVEDERE

at least two examples of the art of this period which preserve in the greatest degree the pure Hellenic spirit, and to which is given a high rank among the statues of the world. One of these is the Apollo Belvedere, which is now generally assigned to this period, although the place where it was produced is not known. So nearly does it approach the perfect Greek style, that it has been said that in it "we see Lysippus in the form and Praxiteles in the face" (Perry). The other example of the pure Hellenic art of this period, and one which is per-

HEAD OF THE APHRODITE OF MELOS

haps still more remarkable, is the Aphrodite found on the island of Melos, and usually called the "Venus of Melos." Scarcely any figure of ancient art has been more admired than this. The faces of these two marble statues express the Greek ideal of perfect masculine and feminine beauty. In them we see that grace of form and calmness of spirit which the Greeks regarded as essential to the purest art.

III. HELLENISTIC CULTURE IN SYRIA

The Civilization of the Seleucidæ. — From the Greek culture of Asia Minor, in which the Hellenic spirit predominated, we pass to the Greek culture of Syria, in which a much larger Oriental element may be seen. Syria, or rather the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, was the largest division of Alexander's empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and containing the most wealthy cities of the East. The Seleucidæ were the most zealous followers of Alexander in the founding of new cities. These new towns, which numbered more than seventy, became the active centers of Greek influence. They were colonized by Greeks. In them the Greek language was spoken; Greek methods of city government were adopted; the commercial spirit of the Greeks was present; and Greek buildings were erected. But these Greek towns, springing up by the side of the older Asiatic cities, felt the influence of Oriental customs and ideas. The Greeks

absorbed the Oriental love of wealth and passion for luxury, and developed a form of life which was neither purely Greek nor purely Eastern, but a mingling of the two — a composite culture in which the Oriental features were improved and the Hellenic features debased.

Antioch as a Center of Culture. — The city which presents the most conspicuous type of this Græco-Oriental or Hellenistic culture in Syria was An'tioch, the capital of the kingdom. The original city was founded by Seleucus I. (Nica'tor), and named in honor of his father Antiochus. The great influx of population compelled a second, a third, and a fourth addition, so that the city became at last a quadruple city (*tetrapolis*). Here gathered the people of many nations; but the prevailing form of culture was Greek, imbued with the Oriental taste for magnificence. The buildings glistened with precious stones and ornaments of gold. The broad, regular streets were lined with the most splendid porticoes, colonnades, and statues. Beyond the walls of the city was the cypress grove of Daphne, said to be one of the most attractive places in the world. It contained the tree of Daphne, into which this nymph, according to tradition, was changed when fleeing from Apollo. The grove was reached by a road passing through beautiful villas and gardens enlivened with fountains and medicinal springs. It was adorned with stately temples, baths, and places of amusement. In the temple of Apollo was a colossal statue of that god, said to rival the Zeus of Phidias. All this fondness for luxury shows that the Greeks, while exercising a powerful influence upon the East, were themselves coming under the spell of Orientalism.

Attempt to Hellenize the Jews. — The only opposition to the Hellenizing movement in western Asia appeared in Judea. Here the people were attached to their ancient language and religion. It is said that Alexander offered strong inducements for the Jews to settle in Alexandria, where they could retain their religion unmolested. Many of them took advantage of this offer; but while preserving their own religion, they could not

help imbibing much of the Hellenistic spirit. In Judea itself, however, the people succeeded in resisting these foreign influences. It is true that the Jewish magnates in Palestine sometimes affected the Greek culture, by learning to speak the Greek language and adopting Greek names; but the mass of the people clung to their Hebrew language and customs. When Palestine passed from the control of Egypt to that of Syria, a systematic attempt was made by the Syrian king Antiochus IV. (Epiph'anes) to force upon the Jews the Greek language and customs, including the Greek religion. This was accompanied by a most unjust and bitter persecution. It aroused a national revolt, which ended only with the establishment of the independence of the Jewish nation.

IV. Hellenistic Culture in Egypt

Alexandria as a Center of Culture. — In Egypt we find the most important intellectual center of the Hellenistic world. The Ptolemies did not, like the Seleucidæ, attempt to bring the whole kingdom under Greek influence by the erection of many new cities. They rather attempted to concentrate into a single focus the various elements of Greek culture. This focus was the city of Alexandria, founded by the great conqueror himself. It was first of all a commercial center, taking the place of Tyre as the important emporium of the Mediterranean. It came to be the most cosmopolitan city of the world, with a population of nearly a million inhabitants, made up of Egyptians, Greeks, Macedonians, Jews, and people from nearly every Asiatic country. The ideas of various people found here a common meeting place. The Ptolemies respected the religion of the Egyptians and that of the Jews, while clinging to their own Grecian gods. But these various religions were often mingled with one another. The god Sera'pis, for example, was a deity which united the character of the Greek Zeus and that of the Egyptian Osiris. Though the surrounding country was not attractive, the architecture of

the city united Greek taste with Oriental splendor. There were many public buildings, such as theaters, amphitheaters, race courses, and sanctuaries; but the most imposing of these was the Serape'um, the temple of the common god Serapis.

Museum and Library of Alexandria. — Alexandria obtained its highest renown as the home of scholars. Here we find blended the Greek and the Egyptian taste for philosophy and science. The most famous work of the Ptolemies was the establishment of the Museum and the Library. The Museum was a collection of buildings dedicated to the Muses, and might not inaptly be called a "University." Here were gathered the philosophers, scholars, and students of all countries — Greece, Asia Minor, Judea, Babylon, and even India. It is said that at one time as many as fourteen thousand students found a home in Alexandria. In connection with the Museum were botanical and zoölogical gardens, dissecting rooms, and astronomical observatories. But the most famous of these buildings was the great Alexandrian Library, containing over five hundred thousand manuscripts. It was the desire of the Ptolemies to possess an authentic copy of every existing work of Greek literature. This library was the most extensive collection of manuscripts in the ancient world.

The Literature and Scholarship of Alexandria. — The kind of literary work done at Alexandria was less creative than critical. The literature which was produced at this time was mostly elegiac and lyric poetry. One poet of this period holds the first rank among the pastoral poets of the world; this poet was Theoc'ritus. Although born at Syracuse, he lived at Alexandria. His "Idylls," describing the beauties of nature, have been admired by all people, and perhaps approach more nearly than any other literature of this period to the pure æsthetic spirit of the early Greeks. His contemporaries in a similar class of poetry, Bion of Ionia and Moschus of Syracuse, although greatly esteemed, do not possess an equal felicity and charm. History also was cultivated by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who wrote the "Chronicles of Egypt"; while the

Babylonian Berosus was doing a similar kind of work for Chaldean history. But the most thorough literary scholarship of Alexandria was devoted to the critical study of the ancient Greek texts. Aristar'chus may be called the father of textual criticism and the science of grammar. Translations, too, formed a part of the work of these Alexandrian scholars. The most noted of these translations was the Septuagint, a Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures.

The Alexandrian Science and Philosophy. — Alexandria was a meeting place for Greek and Oriental science; and a great impulse was given in the direction of a more strictly scientific method. There are many famous names of scientists connected with this seat of ancient learning. Euclid was the founder of our modern geometry. Modern astronomy has grown out of the works of Hippar'chus and Ptolemy. Eratos'thenes was the first to give a mathematical estimate of the size of the earth. Archime'des, a native of Syracuse, came here to study; he was a noted mathematician, and made brilliant discoveries in physical and mechanical science. In Alexandria, also, we see in later times a remarkable mingling of the philosophical ideas of the world — Greek idealism, Jewish monotheism, Oriental mysticism, and afterward even Christian theology. But the complex systems which grew up under such names as "Neo-Platonism" and "Gnosticism," we need not attempt to explain. For us they simply illustrate, like the other phases of Alexandrian culture, the various ideas and forms of thought resulting from the union of the Greek and the Oriental world which followed the conquests of Alexander.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Felton, Vol. II., pp. 275–278, "Spread of Hellenism" (11).[1]
Timayenis, Vol. II., pp. 237–242, "Hellenism in the East" (11).
Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 14, "Culture of the Greek World, 300–220 B.C." (11).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 9, "The Hellenistic World" (10).
——— Greek Life, Ch. 9, "Alexandria and its Rivals" (17).
Gardner, P., Ch. 15, "Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization" (14).
Gardner, E. A., Handbook, Ch. 5, "The Hellenistic Age" (19).
Tarbell, Ch. 10, "Hellenistic Period of Greek Sculpture" (19).
Perry, Ch. 45, "Plastic Art in Rhodes" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Alexandrian School. — Mahaffy, Survey, pp. 282–284 (10); Mahaffy, Greek Life, Chs. 9–12 (17); Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 20 (11); Draper's Intellectual Development in Europe, pp. 138–153.

PERIOD VII. UNION OF GREECE AND THE OCCIDENT (229-146 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXVII

MACEDONIA AND THE GREEK FEDERATIONS

I. The Decline of Macedonia

Character of the New Period. — If the study of the previous period has shown to us the extension of Greek civilization to the East, the study of the present period will show to us a movement quite as important — the extension of Greek civilization to the West. In this movement Macedonia continues to play a certain part, but a part entirely different from that taken in the previous period. Then we saw that Greece was brought into relations with the Eastern world by the Macedonian conquest of Persia. Now we shall see that Greece is brought into relation with the Western world by the Roman conquest of Macedonia. To understand, then, the manner in which Greece became united to the Occident, we must consider first of all the decline of the Macedonian power.

External Dangers to Macedonia. — Since the breaking up of Alexander's empire, Macedonia had suffered from external invasions and encroachments which left her in an impoverished and distressed condition. The vast horde of barbarian Gauls which entered Asia Minor (see page 324) had previously invaded Macedonia. They had defeated her armies, devastated her territory, and weakened her resources. Macedonia had also found a dangerous rival in the Molossian kingdom, which had grown up near by on the shores of the Ionian Sea in Epirus

(see map, page 285). This kingdom had reached its highest power under Pyrrhus, who made an expedition to the West to assist Tarentum against the Romans, and to deliver Sicily from the Carthaginians. To extend his kingdom Pyrrhus had also made continual encroachments upon Macedonia, and had twice wrested the crown from the Macedonian kings. The apparent helplessness of Macedonia in the presence of her foreign enemies is sufficient to show the weak condition into which she had fallen since the days of Philip and Alexander the Great.

Character of the Macedonian Kings. — But the weakness of Macedonia is especially seen in the character of her later kings. Their reigns were characterized by ambition, intrigue, treachery, and murder. The long line which extended from Cassander to Perseus can scarcely show a name which is not stained by some dishonorable or criminal act. The chief policy of these kings was to maintain themselves upon the throne against the schemes of their rivals, and to prevent the Greek cities from obtaining their independence.

II. The Ætolian and Achæan Leagues

The Ætolian League in Central Greece. — While the Macedonian kings were trying to maintain their authority in Greece, there came into prominence two confederations, which were the most important factors in later Greek politics. In the course of time they came to include the most important states of Greece, except Athens and Sparta. One of these confederations was the Ætolian league in central Greece. This had existed from very early times in the remote district of Ætolia, as a union of mountain tribes, banded together for mutual protection and common plunder. The Greeks generally had regarded these tribes as scarcely civilized; but they had obtained a reputation for valor by their aid in defending Greece at the time of the great Gallic invasion (280 B.C.). They had a common federal government, consisting of a gen-

eral, a council, and a popular assembly. The league gradually extended its power so as to include Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and parts of Thessaly, the island of Cephallenia, and also Elis in the Peloponnesus. The Ætolians did not possess a high reputation for honor; and Polyb'ius says that "they were dangerous alike to friend and to foe."

THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES, ABOUT 229 B.C.

The Achæan League in the Peloponnesus. — A body quite similar to the Ætolian league in its organization, but far superior in its character, was the Achæan league, which comprised most of the states in the Peloponnesus. From very ancient times there had existed in Achaia a union of twelve cities. They had always shown a peaceful disposition, and had hitherto kept aloof from the wars of their neighbors. The Macedonian kings had found little difficulty in dissolving this league, and in placing over its towns military garrisons. But about the time of the Gallic invasion, the cities began to draw together again. They drove out the foreign garrisons, and the league was reëstablished to maintain the liberties of Greece against the encroachments of Macedonian kings.

Extension of the Achæan League by Aratus. — The real power and greatness of the Achæan league were due to the famous leader Ara'tus, who for a time appeared as the deliverer of Greece from Macedonian rule. The first work of Aratus was

to liberate his own native city, Sicyon, from its tyrant. He then induced the league to accept this city as one of its members. He was himself elected as general of the league. He then drove the Macedonian garrison from Corinth, and brought that city also within the union. Megara followed; and there was a general movement among the Peloponnesian towns to join the league. In a few years (229 B.C.) the whole Peloponnesus, except Laconia and Elis, was combined in a single federal state — the most advanced political organization that had ever existed in Greece.

Constitution of the Achæan League. — This league is often referred to as the most striking example of a federal republic existing in the ancient world; and we should therefore notice its principal features. In the first place, each city retained its equality and independence — having its own government, electing its own officers, and managing its own local affairs. In the next place, the general powers of the league were vested in a central or federal government. This consisted of (1) a general (or president), and a council or cabinet of ten persons who exercised administrative powers; (2) a boule, or senate, of about one hundred and twenty persons, which prepared measures for the assembly and managed foreign affairs; and (3) an assembly of the whole people, in which the citizens of each city possessed one vote. The assembly passed all federal laws, and elected all federal officers. As the federal assembly was not a representative body, and as all the citizens would not be disposed to attend its meeting, there was a tendency for the league, although democratic in theory, to become aristocratic in fact, and also for the general to exercise a great influence in shaping its policy.

III. The Working of the Leagues

Friendly Relations with Rome. — Nearly the whole of Greece was now organized into these two federal states. If they could have united in the defense of their common liberties,

they might perhaps have been able to throw off the Macedonian yoke. An event occurred which seemed favorable to such a union. This was the friendly alliance which they established with Rome, the new power that was growing up in the West. The Romans were annoyed by depredations made upon their commerce by the Illyrian pirates. These pirates were also attacking the commerce of the Greek cities. The interests of Rome and Greece seemed for the time to be at one. Both leagues joined with Rome in destroying these common enemies (229 B.C.); and in return for this aid the Romans sent legates to the Ætolians, and the Achæans, and even to Athens, to assure them that she was the natural ally and protector of the Greek states. But this common friendship for Rome was unfortunately not sufficient to allay the spirit of rivalry among the cities themselves, or to prevent the continued interference of the Macedonian king.

The Achæan League and Sparta. — The only state of the Peloponnesus which was now acting alone was Sparta. Once the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy, Sparta was now envious of the growing influence of the Achæans. She was herself trying to recover some of her ancient prestige. She had reformed and strengthened her decaying institutions through the efforts of her two energetic kings, Agis III. and Cleomenes III. Cleomenes believed that the interests of Sparta required the breaking up of the Achæan league. He appealed to the Ætolians, and with their aid waged a successful war against the Achæans. The cause of the Achæans seemed about to be lost, when their general Aratus felt obliged to appeal to Macedonia for aid. The Macedonian king, Antigonus, was quite willing to lend a helping hand, since he saw an opportunity to strengthen his own authority in Greece. He invaded the Peloponnesus, defeated Cleomenes in the battle of Sella'sia (221 B.C.), and forced Sparta into submission. But the most unwelcome result of this so-called "Cleomenic war" was its effect upon the Achæan league. The league was originally organized to repel the power of

Macedonia; but now, by accepting the assistance of Macedonia, it was compelled to submit to the Macedonian authority.

Conflict between the Leagues (220–217 B.C.). — By the defeat of Sparta and the submission of the Achæans, the Ætolians were left the strongest independent power in Hellas. It was now their turn to make an attempt to establish their supremacy. The time seemed especially favorable on account of the recent death of the warlike king, Antigonus, and the accession of the young Philip V. to the Macedonian throne. The Ætolians accordingly invaded the Peloponnesus and made war upon the Achæans. They obtained the assistance of Sparta, still smarting under her recent defeat. In this war between the leagues, — called the "Social war," — the young Macedonian king felt bound to protect his Achæan allies. He entered upon a series of vigorous campaigns by land and sea against the Ætolians. He was everywhere successful. Ætolia and the whole of Greece seemed on the point of being reduced to the condition of a Macedonian province, when Philip received the news that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle by Han'nibal. He determined to make peace with the Greeks, and to join Hannibal against the Romans. By the terms of this peace — the Peace of Naupactus (217 B.C.), — the two leagues were compelled to lay down their arms and to return to the condition in which they were at the beginning of the war — that is, the Achæans were still to recognize the authority of the king; the Spartans were to withdraw into their own territory of Laconia; and the Ætolians were to retain their independence.

PHILIP V.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Timayenis, Vol. II., "Ætolian and Achæan Leagues" (11).[1]
Smith, Ch. 46, "From the Battle of Ipsus to the Conquest of Greece" (10).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Mahaffy, Greek Life, Ch. 18, "The Crisis of Hellenism" (17).
Schuckburgh, Ch. 22, "Ætolian and Achæan Leagues" (10).
Plutarch, "Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

GREEK FEDERALISM. — Mahaffy, Problems, pp. 176–186 (12); Greenidge, Ch. 7 (20); Holm, Vol. IV., Index, "Achæan League," "Ætolian League" (11); Fowler, Ch. 10 (20); Freeman, Chs. 5–8 (20).

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ABSORPTION OF HELLAS BY ROME

I. THE ABSORPTION OF WESTERN HELLAS

Rome versus Macedonia. — The persistent rivalry between the Greek cities rendered them incapable of uniting in a common effort to maintain their freedom. In their relations with Rome, it is true, they were beginning to have a common feeling of friendship. But in their relations to Macedonia they seemed to have no settled and common policy — now resisting her authority, and now courting her favor, just as their separate interests seemed to require. Each state regarded its own particular interests as more important than the common interests of Greece. With such a lack of national spirit, it is quite evident that Greece could never become a single free and independent state. She must either remain under the power of Macedonia, or pass under the authority of Rome. And when we compare the relative weakness of Macedonia with the growing strength of Rome, it is not difficult for us to see which of these two powers was destined to be the ruler of Greece.

Absorption of Magna Græcia. — At the time that Philip V. decided to assist Hannibal, a considerable part of the Greek world had already been absorbed by Rome. We may look back for a moment and see how Rome, starting out as a little town on the

Tiber, had extended her dominion over western Hellas, and had come to be the great rival of Macedonia. Many of the Greek cities in Italy had sought the protection of Rome against the neighboring barbarian tribes. In this way, the northern cities of Cumæ and Neapolis had been brought under her authority — and also many southern cities, like Pæstum (Posidonia), Rhegium, and Thu'rii (Sybaris). (For these cities, see map, page 136.) The most important Greek city in southern Italy was Tarentum, which, in a quarrel with Rome, called in the aid of Pyrrhus, the Molossian king of Epirus. But with the defeat of Pyrrhus, all the cities of Magna Græcia were brought under the Roman dominion.

Absorption of Sicily. — Rome then entered Sicily, professedly to protect the city of Messana from the Syracusans, but really to oppose the growing power of Carthage. Carthage had hitherto, as we have seen, been opposed by the powerful rulers of Syracuse, such as Dionysius the Elder, and Timoleon (pages 285, 286). After them Agath'ocles, one of the boldest adventurers of antiquity, made himself tyrant of Syracuse, and attempted to drive the Carthaginians from the island; and he was, in fact, the first of European soldiers "to carry the war into Africa." But in spite of his courageous efforts, Carthage still retained her hold upon the western towns of Sicily. It remained for the Romans, after a tedious war of twenty-three years, — the first Punic war, — to accomplish what others had failed to do. The Carthaginians were driven from the island, and Sicily was made a Roman province. It was not long before all the Greek cities of the west (including Massilia in Gaul) were gathered into the Roman state.

II. The Liberation of Greece from Macedonia

Renewed Friendship between Greece and Rome. — Rome had gained the reputation of being the enemy of the greater powers, and the friend of the weaker states. The greater powers hence sought her destruction; and the weaker ones sought her pro-

tection. When, now, the great Carthaginian soldier, Hannibal, invaded Italy for the purpose of destroying Rome, and when the Macedonian king, Philip V., had decided to help him, Rome entered once more into friendly relations with the Greek cities, in order to prevent the king from invading Italy. To weaken the power of Philip, she formed an alliance with the Ætolians. At the same time Sparta, Messenia, and Elis declared themselves to be the "friends of Rome." As the Greek cities had before united with Rome against the Illyrian pirates, so they now felt bound to Rome by a common hatred toward Macedonia. The triumph for Rome, it seemed, would be a triumph for Greece.

Revival of the Achæans under Philopœmen. — The Achæans now thought they saw an opportunity to throw off the authority of the Macedonian king and to recover their lost power in the Peloponnesus. They were led in this movement by their greatest statesman, Philopœ'men, who has been called "the last of the Greeks." This man had already proved himself to be an able soldier in the "Cleomenic war," and now he was appointed general of the Achæan league. He carried on a successful war against Sparta, and compelled that city to join the league. Elis also now forsook the Ætolians, and joined the Achæans, so that the whole Peloponnesus was for the first time united in one federal state. The Greek cities were inspired once more with the hope of freedom; and at the next Nemean festival Philopœmen was hailed as the "liberator of his country."

Overthrow of the Macedonian Supremacy. — But whatever the Greeks might have hoped, the Macedonian king was not yet disposed to give up his claims as the rightful ruler of Hellas. He still possessed three strong garrisons, by which he believed he could hold the country in subjection, and which he styled "the fetters of Greece." One of these "fetters" was at Deme'trias in Thessaly; another at Chalcis in Eubœa; and the third at Acrocorin'thus, a lofty citadel overlooking the walls of Corinth. The king had also laid siege to the city of Athens, which was not a member of either league. The time had now

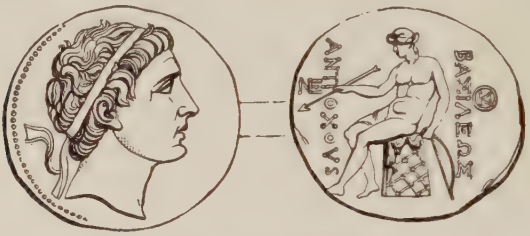
come for Rome not only to punish Philip for taking the side of her arch enemy, Hannibal, but also to maintain her position as the defender of the Greek cities. In the war which followed — the second Macedonian war (200–197 B.C.) — the siege of Athens was raised by a Roman fleet; the Achæan league declared for Rome; and the Macedonian army was defeated by the Roman general Flamini'nus, at Cynosceph'alæ in Thessaly (197 B.C.). This destroyed the last vestige of Macedonian authority in Greece.

The Liberation of Greece. — Greece was now freed from Macedonia; but her liberties were in the hands of her deliverer, Rome. It was a question whether the Greek cities were really to be free, or whether they had simply exchanged one master for another. This question was settled when Flamininus at the next Isthmian festival proclaimed "the liberation of Greece" (196 B.C.). In the name of Rome he declared the states to be free and independent; that the Ætolian and Achæan leagues should retain their federal constitutions; that only those fortresses which had been garrisoned by Philip, including the "three fetters," should be held by Rome. But on the complaint of the Ætolians, even these garrisons were withdrawn (194 B.C.).

III. The Absorption of Macedonia and Greece

Revolt of the Ætolians. — If the public spirit of the Greeks had been equal to the generosity of the Romans, there seems to be no reason why the freedom proclaimed by Flamininus might not have been maintained. Greece had been freed from the domineering policy of Philip V., and Rome had shown by her acts thus far no disposition to reëstablish a similar policy. The settlement of Greece had, in the main, been satisfactory to all parties, except to the Ætolians and Sparta. The Ætolians were especially irritated because certain outlying cities, which Rome had freed, had not been given up to them. Inspired by such a selfish spirit, they determined to look about

for allies and to make war upon Rome. They appealed to Sparta, to Philip, and to Antiochus III., king of Syria. The Syrian king was the only one to respond to this appeal. He invaded Greece, but was soon driven out by the Roman armies.



ANTIOCHUS III. (Coin)

The Ætolians continued the war, but were soon brought to terms. They were now treated with an iron hand. They were obliged to give up the freedom which they had abused, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome (189 B.C.).

Reduction of Macedonia. — The crushing of the Ætolian league naturally led the Macedonian king to believe that the real policy of Rome was not that of a liberator, but that of a conqueror. Philip, therefore, made preparations to meet Rome in the field, and these preparations were continued after his death by his son and successor, Perseus. The new king not only prepared for an open war, but stirred up among the Greek cities a spirit of revolt against Rome — among the Ætolian cities, which had just been conquered, and also among the Achæan cities, which held their liberties under the guarantee of Rome The war came; Macedonia was conquered at the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.; map, page 300). A thousand Achæan citizens who had been active in opposing the Roman cause, — among whom was the historian Polybius, — were transported as captives to Italy. Macedonia was now compelled to recognize the

PERSEUS

Roman supremacy; and in a few years (146 B.C.) the whole country was reduced to the form of a Roman province under a Roman governor.

Reduction of the Achæan League. — The last independent state of any importance now remaining in Greece was the Achæan league. If Rome had hitherto felt under obligation to maintain the freedom of this league, she now felt relieved of this obligation on account of what seemed to be the treachery of the Achæans themselves, during the late Macedonian war. But she still showed a sort of generosity by permitting the return of the Achæan captives. These captives, however, still retained their hostile feeling toward Rome. But the direct cause of Rome's intervention in the affairs of the Peloponnesus was a quarrel between the Achæan league and Sparta on a question of boundaries. Sparta appealed to Rome, and a commission was sent to Greece to settle the dispute. The award of the commission was rejected by the Achæans; and the spirit of revolt was aroused, especially in Corinth. The Roman armies were sent to enforce the award, and to reduce the rebellious cities. Corinth was destroyed (146 B.C.); the Achæan cities were punished, and all Greece came under the Roman authority. A few cities like Athens, Sparta, and Sicyon were allowed to retain their freedom; while the rest of Greece was placed under the authority of the Roman governor of Macedonia (146 B.C.).

By the steps which we have thus briefly traced the whole Hellenic world was absorbed into the Roman republic. And we might also add that, in the process of time, the chief Hellenistic countries of the East — Pergamum, Syria, and Egypt — were also brought under the Roman authority; so that Rome became at last the universal successor to the civilization of Greece.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Schuckburgh, Ch. 24, "Roman Conquest of Greece" (10).[1]
Timayenis, Vol. II., Part IX., Ch. 10, "The Roman Conquest" (11).

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 15, "Greece during the Roman Period" (11).
Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 10, "The Romans in Greece" (12); Greek Life, Ch. 19, "Gradual Subjection of Hellenism to Rome" (17).
Freeman, Essay VI., "Greece during the Macedonian Period" (12).
Plutarch, "Philopœmen" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Political Success and Failure of Greece. — Fowler, Ch. 11 (20); Greenidge, Ch. 8 (20); Coulanges, Bk. V. (20); Freeman, Essay IV., "The Athenian Democracy" (12).

CHAPTER XXIX

GREEK CULTURE AND THE WESTERN WORLD

I. Greek Culture after the Roman Conquest

Continuance of Greek Culture. — We have closed the political history of Greece with the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.); but when we consider the influence of Greece upon the world, we are obliged to say that her intellectual history did not cease at that time. The great significance of Greece, like that of any other country, is to be judged by those elements of its life which it has bequeathed to other peoples. The most permanent features of Greek civilization, as we have been led to believe, were not so much her political institutions as her intellectual and æsthetic culture. We have seen that when Greece fell under the power of Macedonia, her spirit gave a new life to the Eastern world. It is just as true that when she came under the power of Rome, her culture became a valuable heritage to the Western world. To get some idea of the historical importance of Greece, we should take at least a brief survey of her continued influence after she lost her political independence.

Later Seats of Greek Learning. — After the "fall of Greece" there still remained in the Greek world certain centers of learn

ing where the Greek culture was made the subject-matter of education. Athens itself remained an educational center, where were still taught the principles of Greek rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy. The students of other cities and countries flocked to Athens, as to a university, to pursue the branches which were considered necessary for a higher liberal culture. The great capitals of the East — Pergamum, Rhodes, Antioch, and Alexandria — also remained the centers of Greek intellectual life, where the Greek language, philosophy, and science retained the highest place in the course of education. In these centers of learning the old Greek thought and spirit were kept alive and made influential.

Later Greek Writings. — The Greek language continued to be used in Hellas and in the Hellenistic countries as the language of the best literature. There were many famous Greek writers who flourished after the fall of the Greek states. Polybius, an Achæan, wrote a general history in forty books (of which five remain to us entire); and this work is one of our chief authorities for the period from the second Punic war to the destruction of Corinth. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a work on Roman antiquities, extending from the earliest times to the first Punic war. Diodo'rus of Sicily composed a universal history in forty books. Plutarch, a Bœotian, has given us fascinating biographies of important Greek and Roman characters. Ar'rian, a native of Bithynia, wrote the best account which we have of the expeditions of Alexander the Great. Lu'cian, who was born on the banks of the Euphrates, but who spent much time in delivering lectures in the cities of Syria, Greece, and Italy, was one of the most celebrated of Greek satirists.

Spread of Hellenism to the West. — But the continuance of Greek culture was not restricted to the land of its birth, or to the countries of the East. In many respects its most important triumph was its adoption by Rome. This seems to us the more remarkable when we compare its entrance into Italy after the fall of Hellas with its previous entrance into Asia

after the victories of Alexander. We might say that it was borne into Asia on the chariot of a conqueror, while it was brought into Italy in the chains of a captive. The Greeks who settled in the East went there as free men and citizens; but the Greeks who settled in the West came as subjects and prisoners of war. And so the words of the Roman poet are very apt when he describes the influence of Greece upon Rome by saying, "The conquered led captive the conqueror."

As the Greeks were first brought to Rome as captives in war, so the beautiful works of Greek art were carried thither as the spoils of war. It is said that one Roman general, Æmil'ius Paullus, after the battle of Pydna, "transported his rich booty of paintings and statues — among which was an Athena by Phidias — in two hundred and fifty wagons through the streets of Rome" (Perry). With the fall of Corinth all its rich treasures were carried to Italy to adorn the Roman capital. But these works of art, plundered as they were from Greek cities, served to refine and civilize the rude people on the Tiber, and to extend the influence of Greece throughout western Europe.

Greek Elements in Roman Culture. — We have not to do at present with the distinctive features of Roman civilization. But we should have impressed upon our minds the fact that the new world culture which sprang up on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea after the Roman conquest, was made up largely of Greek elements. Whatever genius the Romans may have shown in the development of government and law, their art and literature and philosophy were derived in great part from Greek sources. While their architecture revealed the power and dignity of the Roman character, "whatever was done in the way of design, in the way of adding beauty to strength, was done wholly under the advice and direction of the Greeks" (Mahaffy). In the poetry of Rome we recognize the Greek muse speaking in the Latin tongue. The Roman philosophers also expounded anew the systems of Zeno and Epicurus. Even in the Roman civil law — the highest product

of the Roman mind — we may see the influence of the Stoic ideas of justice and the "law of nature." Every step in the expansion of the Roman empire afforded a new opportunity either for the absorption or for the diffusion of the thought and ideals of Greece.

II. Transmission of Greek Culture to Modern Times

Its Preservation in the Byzantine Empire. — The diffusion of Greek culture throughout the countries of the old world — in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe — is one of the most remarkable facts of ancient history. But the wonderful vitality of Greek thought and the permanent influence of Greek ideals are even more strongly evident in the transmission of this culture to modern times. In order to understand how the Hellenism of the ancient world has become a part of the culture of our modern Western world, we should notice the channels through which the old Greek ideas have come down to us. One of these means of communication was through its preservation in the Byzantine empire — that is, that part of the Roman empire which remained in the East, after the western part was destroyed by the German barbarians. The countries of the eastern Mediterranean continued to be bound together by a common government at Byzantium, which was now called Constantinople. Here the Greek language was still spoken. Here works of Greek literature continued to be written. The old Attic writers were still studied, and the manuscripts of the ancient authors were preserved in the schools of learning and in the monasteries. In this way the Hellenic spirit was kept alive in eastern Europe until the modern period.

Its Absorption by the Arabians. — Another way in which the Greek culture was preserved and transmitted to modern times was through the Arabian conquests. When the Eastern or Byzantine empire declined in power, the Arabians — who had accepted the religion of Mohammed and whom we are accustomed to call the "Saracens" — became the successors of the

Græco-Roman civilization in western Asia and Egypt. This barbarous people became refined and civilized under the influence of the Hellenistic culture of the East. They became the students of Greek science and Greek philosophy, especially that of Aristotle. They became imbued with the love of learning, and their capitals were filled with collections of Greek manuscripts. When they extended their conquests to the west, by way of northern Africa, into Spain and southern Italy, they brought with them into western Europe the remains of the old Greek learning, which they themselves had gathered up in Syria and Egypt.

Its Revival in the Renaissance. — But the most marked revival of Greek culture in modern Europe was due not to this indirect influence exercised by the Arabians; it was due, rather, to the direct influence exercised by Greek scholars, who migrated to the West from the declining cities of the Byzantine empire. While the old government at Constantinople was falling into weakness and decay, new nations were springing into life in western Europe, — in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. And in these newly formed countries of modern Europe the old culture of Greece had a new birth — a *renaissance*. When finally the Turks overran the East and captured Constantinople in the fifteenth century, the devotees of Greek learning found a refuge in Italy. The study of the Greek language and of Greek culture produced a new intellectual life, not only in Italy, but in the other countries of the West. The same kind of regenerating influence which the Hellenic culture had in earlier times exercised upon the people of the Orient, upon the Romans, and upon the Arabians, was now felt by the peoples of modern Europe. Greek art, literature, philosophy, and science found a new and genial home in the West, and gave a strong impulse in the direction of a more refined and higher intellectual life.

Its Influence in Modern Education. — The influence of Greek culture has been preserved in modern times by being incorporated in our higher educational system. The study of the

Greek language, with its capacity for fine distinctions, for clear and graceful expression, has given to the modern mind something of the acuteness and refinement of the Greeks. We still study the works of Homer as the great masterpieces of epic poetry. We still study the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles as lofty specimens of the dramatic art; and we still read the pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon as models of historical composition. Modern ideas have thus been broadened and made more liberal through the influence of Greek studies.

III. Greek Elements in Modern Civilization

Greek Political Ideas. — Through the various ways that we have noticed, the Hellenic spirit has become a part of our modern life. We should indeed study the history and civilization of the ancient Greeks to little purpose if we failed to recognize our own indebtedness to this remarkable people. While it may be difficult for us to separate from one another all the elements which make up the complex culture of modern times, we may yet see in our political and intellectual life many features derived from the Greeks. Our ideas of political liberty, for example, and of the state as an organization of free citizens, have their origin to a large extent in the city state of Greece. It is true that our modern state extends beyond the limits of the city; but it is also true that it is, like the Greek city state, an organization of free citizens; and in this larger modern state, the city still retains, like the Greek city, a certain right of local self-government. Although we may have received this idea of municipal government more directly from Rome, it no doubt came originally from Greece. It would be difficult for us to estimate how much we are indebted for our free institutions to the spirit of liberty which inspired the people of Hellas.

Greek Science and Philosophy. — Moreover, our scientific and philosophical ideas have in them many elements which we have

indirectly derived from the Greeks. Our geometry is mainly the geometry of Euclid. Our geography is founded in great part upon that of the Alexandrian scientists. It is a question whether America would have been discovered when it was, had not Columbus become acquainted with the later Greek ideas regarding the shape of the earth.[1] Our sciences of grammar, of logic, of rhetoric, are also drawn from the storehouse of Greek learning. So, also, our philosophical theories of man and of nature are largely influenced by the writings of Plato and Aristotle, and other Greek thinkers.

Greek Spirit in Literature. — We may perceive still further in our best literature the presence of the Hellenic spirit. The most cultivated of modern writers have looked upon the literature of Greece as furnishing the highest models of a pure literary style. The writings produced on the soil of Ionia and Attica have given an inspiration to the modern poet, orator, and historian. The "classics" of the modern world have thus an affinity with the classical works of Greece, — marked as they are by simplicity of style, clearness of thought, and ease of expression.

Greek Art and Taste. — The modern world is finally indebted largely to the Greeks for some of the best features of its art — especially in architecture and sculpture. This influence is seen, not only in modern imitations of Greek temples and statues, but especially in those principles of taste which are based upon the perception of the highest beauty. The Greek taste was opposed to all that is artificial and meretricious. It was opposed alike to barbarian crudeness and Oriental excess. The influence of this classic love of simplicity, of sincerity, of

[1] On this interesting subject, see Fiske, Discovery of America, Vol. I., pp. 260–268, 354–381; Winsor, Columbus, pp. 107–109; Hallam, Literature of Europe, Vol. I., p. 195; Payne, History of America, pp. 22–72. Although some doubt has been thrown upon the genuineness of the "letter of Toscanelli" by Vignaud (in his Toscanelli and Columbus, London and N.Y., 1902), there is no doubt that the advanced geographical ideas of Europe, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, were derived from Greek sources.

moderation, is seen in the higher forms of modern art — even in those forms which do not strictly follow the ancient Greek models. The spirit of classic art has thus exercised a refining influence upon the modern taste, and has led to a higher appreciation of the union of truth with beauty.

Civilizing Influence of Greece. — As we look back over the history of Greece and its influence upon the world, we can see the important place which it has occupied in the growth of civilization. We have seen Greece at first the heir of the Orient, developing an early culture under foreign influences, which soon passed away, leaving only the memories and monuments of the Mycenæan age. We have seen her afterward showing a spirit of freedom and independence, — in politics, in literature, in art, in philosophy, — breaking away from the servile spirit and despotic authority of the East, and developing in the age of Pericles a culture far superior to that of any earlier people. We have also seen her in her political decline and fall, still maintaining her intellectual supremacy and scattering the fruits of her culture into every part of the world. We have seen that whatever people have been brought into contact with her spirit have received a new intellectual life. We must, therefore, look upon the influence of Greece as one of the most powerful factors in the civilization of the world. Whatever flaws we may find in the old Greek character, we can not too highly appreciate that peculiar intellectual and æsthetic type of culture which forms one of the great bequests of antiquity to modern times. "All that is most beautiful and most instructive in Greek achievement," says Professor Jebb, "is our permanent possession; one which can be enjoyed without detriment to those other studies which modern life demands; one which no lapse of time can make obsolete, and which no multiplication of modern interests can make superfluous. Each successive generation must learn from ancient Greece that which can be taught by her alone; and to assist, however little, in the transmission of her message is the best reward of a student."

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 10, "Greek Culture under the Romans" (10);[1] Problems, Ch. 10, "The Romans in Greece" (12); Greek Life, Ch. 23, "Importation of Hellenism to Rome" (17); Greek World under Roman Sway, Ch. 5, "General Reaction of Hellenism upon Rome."

Greenidge, Ch. 8, "Hellenism and the Fall of the Greek Constitutions" (20).

Perry, Ch. 48, "Migration of Greek Art to Rome" (19).

Felton, Vol. II., Fourth Course, Lect. 7, "Byzantine Scholarship" (11).

Symonds, Ch. 12, "The Genius of Greek Art" (23).

Jebb, Greek Classical Poetry, Ch. 8, "Permanent Power of Greek Poetry" (23).

Butcher, pp. 1–46, "What We Owe to the Greeks" (12).

SPECIAL STUDY

The Modern Greek Kingdom. — Timayenis, Vol. II., Part IX., Chs. 2, 3 (11); Felton, Vol. II., Fourth Course, Lects. 8–11 (11); Jebb, Modern Greece; Rose, Christian Greece and Living Greek; Sargeant, New Greece.

[1] The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

APPENDIX

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF BOOKS UPON ORIENTAL AND GREEK HISTORY

N.B. — This list contains only English works and English translations.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

(1) Anthropology and Ethnology.

Deniker, J. Races of Man. Lond. 1900.
Ihering, R. von. Evolution of the Aryan. Lond. 1897.
Morris, C. The Aryan Race. Chicago, 1892.
Peschel, O. Races of Man. N. Y. 1876.
Quatrefages, A. de. The Human Species. N. Y. 1879.
Ripley, W. Z. Races of Europe. N. Y. 1899.
Sayce, A. H. Races of the Old Testament. Lond. 1891.
Sergi, G. The Mediterranean Race. Lond. and N. Y. 1901.
Taylor, I. Origin of the Aryans. Lond. 1892.
Tylor, E. B. Anthropology. N. Y. 1881.

(2) Primitive Culture.

Clodd, E. Childhood of Religions. N. Y. 1890.
—— Story of Primeval Man. N. Y. 1895.
Hearn, W. E. Aryan Household. Lond. 1879.
Hoernes, M. Primitive Man. Lond. 1901.
Hoffman, W. J. Beginnings of Writing. N. Y. 1895.
Joly, N. Man before the Metals. N. Y. 1883.
Keary, C. F. Dawn of History. N. Y.
Laing, S. Human Origins. Lond. 1892.
Mason, O. T. Woman's Share in Primitive Culture. N. Y. 1894.
Nadaillac, Marquis de. Manners and Monuments of Prehistoric Peoples. N. Y. 1892.
Schrader, O. Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Race. Lond. and N. Y. 1890.
Starr, F. First Steps in Human Progress. Meadville, 1895.
Tylor, E. B. Primitive Culture. 2 vols. N. Y. 1874.
—— Early History of Mankind. Bost. 1878.

2. ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

(3) Oriental History, General.

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